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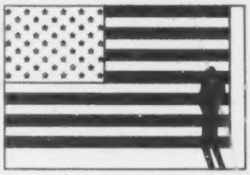
THE FIGGIE REPORT ON FEAR OF CRIME:

AMERICA AFRAID



PART I: THE GENERAL PUBLIC

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Preface

PREFACE

by

The Honorable John O. Marsh, Jr.
Former U.S. Congressman from Virginia
Former Counselor to President Ford with Cabinet Rank
Member of the Board of Directors of A-T-O Inc.

The statistics of crime are well-known. What has not been adequately explored in the past is how our outlook on life and our behavior patterns have been changed by the fear which accompanies the statistics. We believe this report provides some revealing insights into those changes, and that it may well become a landmark in appraising the quality of life in America today.

Although the study was sponsored by a corporation, it was not conceived as a means of serving a special commercial interest. The corporate sponsor, A-T-O Inc., is a multi-divisional company with products ranging from American LaFrance fire apparatus to Rawlings Sporting Goods. A comparatively small part of its business happens to be in the security field. However, the sophistication of protective measures required for both private and public purposes has become a matter of personal concern to the top management of the company.

Harry E. Figgie, Jr., chief executive officer of A-T-O Inc. is a man of vision, humanity, and a deep sense of history. I have known him to be a businessman of rare talent, and one who has a great personal commitment to preserve the values which he believes have made this country great. He is as much a teacher as a manager and has been responsible for a number of remarkable education programs carried out by the company as a public service.

It was Harry Figgie who decided that A-T-O Inc. should sponsor a study of a tragic development in our society which threatens to bring about major changes in our way of life. As one who believes that sound education is the best preparation for intelligent action, he felt this study would be a stimulus for new initiatives to solve this basic problem.

That is the origin and purpose of The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime: America Afraid. It is Harry Figgie's hope that telling the truth about how crime has affected our lives may awaken the public to the urgent need to do something about it.

The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime has, in fact, resulted in three separate documents, each of which, we believe, can stand on its own as a major contribution to an understanding of the problem. The three parts are being issued separately over a period of several months. They are:

Part I:	A study of how the fear of crime has affected the lifestyles of the American public, based on a national survey.
Part II:	A study of how the fear of crime has affected corporate life, based on a survey of chief executive officers of Fortune 1000 companies.

Preface

Part III: A ten-city profile of the fear of crime, based on interviews of mayors, judges, police chiefs, editors, television commentators and other community leaders in Atlanta, Cleveland, Los Angeles, Louisville, Milwaukee, New York City, Phoenix, St. Louis, Seattle and Washington, D.C.

It is not the purpose of these reports to offer remedies. What to do about the problem is for the American public and policy makers to decide. It is our fervent hope that the Figgie Report will be a valuable resource to those seeking a solution, and convincing evidence that fear of crime has reached such proportions that it deserves to be given a high priority on the national agenda.

Introduction

Introduction

Fear of crime is slowly paralyzing American society. Yet of all the problems confronting the nation at this time, this fear is perhaps the least appreciated and the most dimly understood.

The impact of fear of crime on American life, on family and social relationships, on business, on culture and recreation, is profound. Who among us has not been concerned about traveling to a deserted part of town at night? Or about the all too real possibility that the security of our home would be breached? Who among us has not been concerned when loved ones -- especially our children -- do not return home when expected?

As well as being one of the principal causes of many of today's most pressing problems, fear of crime may also be one of the key factors impeding society's ability to cope successfully with those problems. This fear has played a prominent role in bringing about the deterioration of American cities, the steady rise in criminal violence, the flight of the middle class to the suburbs, the failure of once-thriving small neighborhood businesses. Why is America, traditionally a nation of activists, of doers, unable to reverse these debilitating trends, this downward slide in the quality of American life that alarms and disheartens so many citizens and drains the vitality from so many local communities?

Fifty years ago the country was caught in the iron grip of economic depression. Hunger, debt, economic failure and, later, the threat of world war were the sources of the nation's fear in those difficult times. However, by developing a sense of common purpose and common challenge, the nation came through one of the great trials of its history. Today, America is in the ever-tightening grip of a new kind of fear, fear of criminal victimization, of physical harm and property loss. Americans have today become afraid of one another. Confronted with this frightening new challenge, American optimism appears dampened, American ability to act rendered ineffective, American communities split apart. Fear of violent crime seems to have made the country helpless, incapable of dealing with the sources of its fear.

Perhaps the main reason for this evident incapacity to respond successfully to the threat is that the problem is relatively new to American society. Recent studies in criminology report that the sharply rising crime rates throughout the country, as well as the fear which accompanies, indeed, which exceeds them, is a phenomenon first detected in the 1930's, which subsided briefly after World War II, and which then accelerated with gathering momentum up to the present time. Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, according to social scientists, the rate of violent criminal acts in America seems to have decreased consistently and dramatically, only beginning its precipitous rise after the last world war.

American society was created in revolution and has experienced its share of conflict, lawlessness and violence. But because of the vast size of the continent, and the countless dangers involved in its taming and development, Americans were forced to rely on one another in order to survive. Members of a fledgling community had to be mutually interdependent if the community were to grow and flourish. In such a fragile, developing social context, widespread criminal activity would have been intolerable. Therefore, as communities established themselves across the land and grew to maturity, the sense of necessary social cohesion afforded crime and fear of crime little opportunity to take root.

During World War I and later, during the 1930's and '40's, the universally-felt need for community, for social cohesiveness in response to the threats facing the country, may in part account for the relatively low and stable rates of reported crime. With the end of World War II, however, earlier challenges were removed, allowing a society to turn to other pursuits. The incidence of violent personal and property crimes began its precipitous climb at that time. Figures show an increase of 370% in the rate of reported murders between 1946 and 1973, with the sharpest rise occurring after 1965. Trends in serious thefts are similar: the post-1955 increase in the United States has been about 300%, with the most notable rise coming, again, after 1965. By 1978, the FBI Uniform Crime Report counted an average of one violent personal crime every 30 seconds and one property crime every 3 seconds.

Although the facts about crime in America today are shocking, society seems to have adapted to this new reality almost without being aware of how such an accommodation affects the nation's well-being. Crime and the fear of crime have, like a dark dye, permeated the fabric of American life. Yet the change has occurred so gradually, so insidiously, that society has accepted it. The spread of terrorism, and the nation's response to it, is a case in point. Because of the ever-present threat of hijacking, air travelers must pass through a metal detector and allow their bags to be checked and x-rayed for weapons and explosives each time they board a plane. No one, however, protests loudly against being considered a potential criminal. It is a reality that has become accepted as a part of the ordinary routine of travelling. The same complacency in the face of the spread of crime and its accompaniment -- fear -- is evident in most other areas of ordinary experience.

Crime, then, has spread, taking on a new, more menacing face, but people have adapted themselves to it because they see no other effective response.

Over the past twenty-five years, reports of criminal violence have received increasing attention in the media. Filmed and televised dramas in which crime is a theme have more and more become a staple of the nation's entertainment. And the general pervasiveness of crime extends beyond vicarious experience into the realm of the actual. Most citizens are aware that the potential of falling victim to a criminal act is real, can happen almost anywhere, at almost any time.

Fifty years ago, the apprehension by police of a dangerous, violent criminal was the cause of widespread celebration and relief. But who today knows which criminal is Public Enemy Number One, and who is there today who does not realize that for every apprehended dangerous criminal, ten others are waiting to take his place? Even when a dangerous criminal is tried, sentenced, and put in prison it is expected that he will be back on the streets again after a few years, or even months.

Crime and the possibility of victimization are everywhere today, challenging the individual's sense of security and the neighborhood's sense of community. Because there seems to be no practical way of addressing the problem, fear of crime is in the process of breaking communities apart, forcing individuals into self-protective isolation, thereby undermining the very roots of American optimism, of good will towards one's neighbors, of the ability of a common effort to accomplish society's most treasured goals, and to maintain the fundamental values of the democratic community. Increased mobility of contemporary society has introduced a new element of discontinuity and social dislocation which has weakened American's urban neighborhoods, suburbs and small towns. Americans less and less often know their neighbors or care to maintain relationships with them. And in such a situation crime and fear of crime has been able to hold and spread throughout the land.

It is not the intention of the report that follows to suggest remedies for this crucial and complex problem. The aim, rather, is to illuminate the facts about fear of crime as it undermines and degrades the quality of American life, and to explore the effects and ramifications of that fear. It is hoped that by being made public, this study of the effects of fear of crime in America can bring about a new, practical understanding of a social issue that has for too long been obscured. A clear awareness of this problem is the first step towards bringing society together to meet the challenge and to find the most effective solution.

Methodological Note

Methodological Note

Previous Studies

In order to design a series of studies that explore new terrain, Research & Forecasts, Inc. reviewed previous surveys regarding fear of crime. Most such studies examine the causes of fear of crime, suggesting that gender (female), city size (large),[1] neighborhood cohesion, and race (black), are major factors predicting fear of crime, along with age, income, and education. (See Ennis, 1966; Biderman, 1967; Clemente and Kleiman, 1977; and Hindelang, Gottfredson and Garofalo, 1978).

Such studies about causes are sophisticated and useful, but they pay relatively little attention to the consequences of fear of crime on everyday lives or to coping behavior of most citizens. Skogan (1978) initiated studies on some efforts to adopt defensive tactics or reduce exposure risk, but used few items to define coping behavior. A clear need existed for an in-depth study exploring the wide range of ways people act when confronted with fear of crime, aquiring new attitudes, and taking special precautions.

Our study focuses on the consequences of fear of crime more comprehensively than previous studies do, illuminating the array of influences affecting fear and the consequences of fear in everyday life. This study reveals four distinct sets of items to be associated with fear. The four predictive clusters are: victimization, social disadvantage, isolation, and access to information. The items included in these clusters demonstrate "face validity," as explanatory variables in analyzing who fears crime. This grouping of items helps identify types and levels of fear and their relation to the consequences of fear. Consequences of fear are studied by examining a wide range of possible precautions, including: restricting community activities; taking special precautions when traveling, going away for a weekend, or staying at home; gun ownership. The impact of fear and of crime awareness on confidence in the police and attitudes toward the crimininal justice system (courts and prisons) were also explored.

---

[1] The Research & Forecasts, Inc. questionnaire asks respondents to report their own subjective estimates of their place of residence: large city, small city, suburb, or rural area.

Sample

The sample used in this study was a random digit dial sample of all telephones, listed and unlisted, in the continental United States.

The method used to construct such samples involves the use of a massive data base which is updated frequently. A specialized computer program generates a list of telephone numbers organized in such a manner that each telephone has an equal probability of being called.

Systematic data collection techniques guarantee that the randomness of the telephone number selection process is maintained. Ninety-three percent of Americans have access to a telephone in their dwellings.[2] Telephone sampling is an efficient manner in which to reach a wide array of groups in the population within a short time span. The advantage of a compressed time frame is that it minimizes external bias, diminishing the impact of unforeseen events.

The final sample size of 1,047 is large enough to ensure that conclusions drawn from data analysis will be valid within a small margin of error for the entire adult United States population of 155 million.

Weighting

The initial sample did not correspond exactly to recent Census Bureau estimates of the demographic characteristics of the population over age 18.[3] In order to make the two populations correspond more closely, we weighted our sampled population concerning two variables: gender and income.

The Census Bureau estimates the 1979 population over 18 as being 41.9% male and 58.1% female. In order to correct the sample findings to approximate census figures, males in the sample were increased by a factor of 1.136 and females were decreased by a factor of .902. The income groups were similarly weighted.[4]

[2] See W. R. Klecka and Alfred J. Tuckfarber, "Random Digit Dialing: A Comparison To Personal Surveys," Public Opinion Quarterly (1978, p. 104)

[3] U.S. Bureau of the Census - Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1979, p. 29

[4] U.S. Bureau of the Census, Op. Cit., p. 449

Gamma Coefficient

Whenever this study provides tables illustrating correlations between factors, the tables include a decimal number called "gamma." "Gamma" is a number or factor that indicates the closeness of the relationship between two variables. It can take any value between -1.0 and +1.0. A gamma of at least .20 indicates a noteworthy relationship. All gamma correlations in this report are significant at the 5 percent level or better. That is, the correlations may occur by chance no more than 5 out of 100 times.

Impact

Whenever this study discusses the "impact" of one factor or another, it should be understoood that the direction of the impact in question is hypothetical. The gammas that are used to indicate the strength of an impact simply indicate that a relationship exists.

Sample Size

The sample size varies from question to question throughout the report. On each table, the sample size is indicated in parenthesis. The "percent of total sample" given on the tables is the percent of the adult citizens who responded to the question.

(Further explanations of the Methodology used in this study are found in Appendix II to this report).

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Overview

Overview

The Two Dimensions of Fear

Crime is on the increase in the United States[1] - but as distressing as the rapid rise is, this study discovers that the incidence of crime is far outstripped by the fear of crime. The dramatic discrepancy between the incidence of crime and the fear of crime warrants serious attention - and it is this discrepancy and the reasons for it that form the substance of The Figgie Report On Fear Of Crime: America Afraid.

The study reveals that four out of ten Americans are highly fearful they will become victims of violent crimes, such as murder, rape, robbery, or assault. It also reveals that four out of ten Americans feel unsafe in their everyday environments - their homes, their neighborhoods, their business districts and shopping centers - due to the fear of crime.

The report investigates "two dimensions of fear:" the "concrete fear" of specific acts of violence committed against us and the "formless fear" of non-specific threats to our safety in our communities.

Concrete Fear vs. Formless Fear

To determine whether "concrete fear" and "formless fear" are indeed two distinct types of fear, affecting people in different ways for different reasons, two indices were devised.

The Concrete Fear Index measures how often a person worries about being the victim of six major crimes: murder, sexual assault, mugging, knifing, beating, or armed robbery.

---

[1] FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1978

The Formless Fear Index measures how often people worry about being alone during the day and at night in their homes, in their neighborhoods and in their central business district or shopping center. The chart below clarifies the difference between the two types of fear.

	Concrete Fear	Formless Fear
Type of threat	Specific acts of violence	Diffuse, vague feeling of being unsafe
Focus of threat	Directed at the individual	Group related, in context of the home (family), neighbors, and the community at large
Level of personal threat	High	Not as high
Location	Anywhere	Near home, in the everyday environment

Different Groups Have Different Fears

The study discloses that fear of crime in America is alarmingly pervasive, crossing all demographic boundaries. The old and the young, the affluent and the poor, men and women, those in cities and those in rural areas - all have a common and debilitating fear of crime. Yet, there are certain groups which show particularly high degrees of fear. What is more, different groups experience different types of fear: some are plagued by high levels of concrete fear, while others exhibit extraordinarily high levels of formless fear.

Overview

Our analysis shows that the groups most afflicted by both concrete fear of specific violent crimes and formless fear of vague dangers in their everyday environments are:

- People living in large cities
- Women
- Blacks

Those especially affected by concrete fear are:

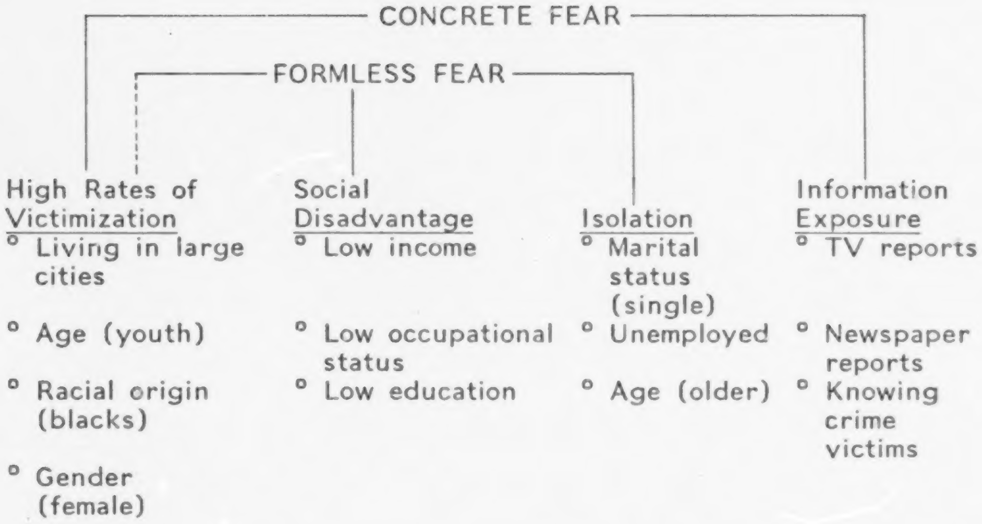
- The young
- Those with higher levels of formal education

Those particularly affected by formless fear are:

- Those with low incomes
- Those with low levels of education
- Those with low occupational status
- Those not working full time
- Those who have experienced a marital loss (divorce, separation or widowhood)
- The old

Why Different Groups Have Different Fears

The study finds that there are four explanatory clusters which help illuminate why particular groups show especially high levels of concrete fear, formless fear or both. The chart below shows the explanatory clusters and their links to the two types of fear:


CONCRETE FEAR
FORMLESS FEAR
High Rates of Victimization
° Living in large cities
° Age (youth)
° Racial origin (blacks)
° Gender (female)
Social Disadvantage
° Low income
° Low occupational status
° Low education
Isolation
° Marital status (single)
° Unemployed
° Age (older)
Information Exposure
° TV reports
° Newspaper reports
° Knowing crime victims

The study reveals that, generally, concrete fear is experienced to a higher degree by those who are among groups that are highly victimized and who have greater exposure to crime-related information. Formless fear, on the other hand, is experienced to a higher degree by those who are somewhat isolated from the mainstream of social activities or who are socially disadvantaged; formless fear is also somewhat related to victimization (hence the dotted line as in the above diagram).

Overview

Coping with Fear

The survey examines what people do about the fear of crime and finds that Americans are extremely cautious and security-minded. The data show, for example, that when pursuing activities outside the home, seven out of ten people keep their car doors locked to keep out intruders, and six out of ten people dress plainly to avoid drawing attention to themselves. To protect their homes, the sweeping majority (nearly nine out of ten) always lock their doors and always identify people before letting them in.

While anti-crime precautions are clearly a part of American life, there are certain groups which take more precautions than others. Among them:

- Women
- Blacks
- People living in large cities
- Those with low incomes
- Those not working full time
- People living in the South

The data show that fear is a strong motivating factor in the taking of precautions outside the home and that people with high amounts of either concrete or formless fear are more likely to take protective measures than are those with low levels of either fear. Precautions taken inside the home do not appear to be motivated so directly by fear; rather, they appear to be taken as part of routine existence, and may be related to a "presumed level" of fear in our society. High rate of victimization is the most powerful of the factors explaining why some people take more precautions than do others.

One very common means of coping with fear is owning a gun. The survey reveals that slightly over half of all Americans own guns. People most likely to own guns include:

- Those living outside of large cities
- Those living in the South
- Males
- Married people
- The young
- Blacks

One explanation of this pattern of gun ownership is cultural and historical. The survey shows that males living outside urban areas are more likely to have guns, and this appears consistent with the cultural role expectation that the males in our society act as "protectors." This is especially true for males in rural areas who are traditionally portrayed as defenders of the family. The study also indicates that gun ownership is concentrated in the South and is least common in the East, which suggest that factors bearing on gun ownership relate to patterns of historical and regional development.

Views on the Police and Criminal Justice System

Given the high levels of fear of crime which pervade American life, it is not surprising that public attitudes toward the criminal justice system are predominately cynical and attitudes toward treatment of criminals themselves are highly punitive. By contrast, however, attitudes toward the police are for the most part positive.

Nearly nine out of ten Americans say their local police are respectful and neither use too much force nor enjoy "just pushing people around." About three-fourths of Americans say the local police treat people of all races the same, and that they do *not* spend most of their time "going after people who do little things wrong while ignoring most of the bad things going on." Almost two out of three Americans favor giving the police more power to question people. Our analysis does demonstrate, however, there are particular groups that have *lower* levels of confidence in the police than others. Among them are:

- Those who have been victims of crime
- Younger adults
- Blacks
- Those who know crime victims
- Those who perceive their neighborhood as deteriorating

Americans as a whole manifest a surprisingly high level of support for increased local taxes to provide police protection. Slightly more than *half* of all Americans favor such a local tax hike, which is striking given the current wave of sentiment for reduced taxes.

Americans' largely favorable views of the police are not echoed in their attitudes toward the judicial system. Eight out of ten

Americans feel that the criminal justice system is not effective in rehabilitating criminals or in helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens. In addition, more than half feel that present prison sentencing does not serve as a deterrent to crime.

The public favors imposition of severe measures in dealing with criminals. Only 3% of respondents feel that the courts in their area are too harsh. Conversely, two out of three Americans favor the death penalty for convicted murderers, and an equal number feel that it would act as an effective deterrent to the crime of murder. Roughly nine out of ten people agree that mandatory prison sentences should be imposed on criminals convicted of violent crime, and that criminals so convicted should be given long prison sentences. One out of two members of the public support the sterilization of habitual criminals and the insane.

The report which follows presents an in-depth analysis of the fear of crime in America, examines how Americans are coping with this fear, and explores current public attitudes toward the police and criminal justice system.

Chapter One
Concrete Fear: The Fear of Specific Violent Acts

Concrete Fear

Incidence Versus Fear of Violent Crime

An alarming four out of ten Americans are highly fearful they will become victims of violent crimes -- murder, rape, robbery, or assault.[1]

This survey reveals that 55% of women fear being raped, 24% of the population fear being beaten up, 23% worry they will be robbed, and 17% fear they will be murdered.

Recent FBI statistics reveal that there is a violent crime committed in America every 30 seconds.[2] These statistics also document a steady increase in the incidence of violent crime across the nation. What these statistics do not reflect is the constant, mounting fear that this rising tide of violence has instilled in us.

Statistics on the incidence of violent crime can appear to be mollifying, when they are stated, as by the FBI, in annual terms: the incidence of murder is only about .009% of the population; robbery about .19%; assault, about .26%; and rape, about .06% (of women).[3].

Americans refuse to be placated by such statistics. As distressing as the growth of violent crime is, the present study has discovered that the incidence of crime is far outstripped by the fear of crime.

The dramatic discrepancy between the incidence of crime and the fear of crime merits serious attention. This report explores the reasons for this vast difference.

[1] See table in section: Concrete Fear: A Barometer

[2] FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1978, p. 5

[3] FBI, op. cit., pp. 7, 14, 16, 20

Frequency of Worrying About Being Murdered, Raped, Robbed or Beaten Up Versus Actual National Incidence

1978 FBI Reports	The Figgie Report	
Incidence of Murder	**Fear of Being Murdered**	
		%
.009% of Population	Frequently or Sometimes	17
	Rarely or Never	83
	(Number of Respondents)	(1046)
Incidence of Rape	**Fear of Being Raped or Sexually Assaulted (Women Only)**	
		%
.06% of All Women	Frequently or Sometimes	55
	Rarely or Never	45
	(Number of Respondents)	(540)
Incidence of Robbery	**Fear of Being Robbed**	
		%
.19% of Population	Frequently or Sometimes	23
	Rarely or Never	77
	(Number of Respondents)	(1046)
Incidence of Assault	**Fear of Being Beaten Up**	
		%
.26% of Population	Frequently or Sometimes	24
	Rarely or Never	76
	(Number of Respondents)	(1046)

Concrete Fear: A Barometer

For the purposes of this report, we have identified two types of fear of crime.

Concrete Fear, the focus of this chapter, is the fear of becoming the victim of a *specific* violent crime. By contrast, Formless Fear, which will be discussed in the next chapter, is a *non-specific* fear about safety in one's home, neighborhood and larger community.

Concrete Fear

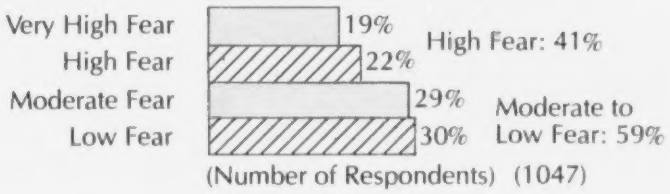
In order to establish an overall barometer of concrete fear, concerns about six major crimes (see chart below) were combined into a single index. The Index of Concrete Fear shows that four out of ten Americans exhibit high to very high levels of fear, while the remainder express moderate to low fear.

Concrete Fear

This index measures worry about:

- Being murdered
- Being sexually assaulted or raped
- Being mugged
- Being knifed
- Being beaten up
- Being held up by an armed robber

Concrete Fear Index



Comparing various demographic groups -- e.g., the urban and the rural, men and women, the old and the young -- dramatic differences emerge, providing a portrait of those among us who harbor the greatest fears of victimization.

Who Are the Fearful?

It is apparent from the data that several groups are experiencing the most intense fear of victimization.

People in large cities show far higher levels of fear than those who live elsewhere. An unsettling 52% of people in large cities have a high or very high degree of concrete fear, contrasted with 31% of individuals living in rural areas. Inhabitants of small cities and suburbs fall between these polarities of expressed fear (41% and 39% respectively). While it is not surprising to see such a contrast between fear in the city and fear "on the farm," it is startling that the level of fear in rural areas is so high. Rural areas have been viewed historically as pastoral havens from the anxieties of city life. Nearly one out of three people in those areas now say they are subject to fear of violent crime.

The young reveal an astonishingly high level of concern. Half of the respondents (49%) aged 18 to 29 reflect a high fear of specific violent crimes, while those aged 30 to 39 exhibit a similar degree of high fear (46%). These groups present a surprising contrast with the older respondents in the sample. Of respondents 40 to 49, 34% expressed high levels of fear, while 33% of all those over 60 displayed high fear.

Women are significantly more frightened of being victims of violent crimes than are men. Forty-six percent (46%) of women express high levels of fear, as compared with a smaller share (34%) of the men.

Concrete Fear

Those who have received more formal education feel somewhat more afraid of possible crimes against them than do the less educated. Forty-six percent (46%) of college graduates show high to very high levels of fear, in contrast with 35% of those with some high school or less. High school graduates fall between these groups, with 41% voicing high fear.

Blacks are somewhat more fearful of personal victimization than whites. Forty-eight percent (48%) express high levels of fear, while 40% of white respondents show an equal degree of fear.

Levels of fear appear fairly consistent among respondents living in different regions of the United States, although those living in the Midwest (43%) and the South (43%) reveal slightly higher levels of concrete fear than those living in the East (36%) and the West (39%).

Impact of Place of Residence on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	**Place of Residence**			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
High Fear	31	39	41	52
Moderate to Low Fear	69	61	59	48
(Number of Respondents)	(200)	(233)	(370)	(218)
% of Total Sample	20	23	36	21
Gamma .14				

Impact of Age on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
	%	%	%	%	%
High Fear	49	46	34	40	33
Moderate to Low Fear	51	54	66	60	67
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(191)	(160)	(158)	(236)
% of Total Sample	27	18	18	15	22
Gamma .17					

Impact of Gender on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Gender	
	Male	Female
	%	%
High Fear	34	46
Moderate to Low Fear	66	54
(Number of Respondents)	(492)	(544)
% of Total Sample	48	52
Gamma .19		

Impact of Education on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Education		
	Some High School or Less	High School Graduate or Some College	College Graduate
	%	%	%
High Fear	35	41	46
Moderate to Low Fear	65	59	54
(Number of Respondents)	(355)	(367)	(310)
% of Total Sample	34	36	30
Gamma .07			

Concrete Fear

Impact of Race on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
High Fear	40	48
Moderate to Low Fear	60	52
(Number of Respondents)	(860)	(169)
% of Total Sample	84	16
Gamma .52		

Impact of Region on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Region			
	East	West	Mid-West	South
	%	%	%	%
High Fear	36	39	43	43
Moderate to Low Fear	64	61	57	57
(Number of Respondents)	(241)	(209)	(259)	(324)
% of Total Sample	23	20	25	31
Gamma .07				

Why Some People Are Highly Fearful

In our analysis we identified four factors as possible explanations for fear of crime. Some are related closely to concrete fear, others are related to formless fear. These factors are: belonging to a segment of the population experiencing high rates of victimization, information exposure, social disadvantage and isolation. As the following chart shows, each factor is composed of several elements:

Four clusters of factors may explain why people are fearful. They are:

Actual Rate of Victimization	Information Exposure	Social Disadvantage	Isolation
° Living in large cities	° TV reports	° Low income	° Marital status (Widowed, separated or divorced)
° Gender (Female)			
° Age (Youth)	° Newspaper reports	° Low occupational status	° Unemployed or retired
° Racial Origin (Blacks)	° Knowing crime victims	° Low education	° Age (Old)

The following section shows how, in our analysis, belonging to a group experiencing high rates of victimization and exposure to information are intimately related to concrete fear. It also shows why social disadvantage and isolation are not related to the specific fear of victimization.

Concrete Fear

- Belonging to a Group Experiencing High Rates of Victimization

Fear of specific crimes is, as we have seen, much higher than the actual incidence of violent crimes. Yet, our data indicate that particularly fearful groups often have some kernel of statistical justification for their fears.

Statistics do indeed show, for example, that there is a good deal more violent crime in the cities than in rural areas. The 1978 FBI report shows a .58% incidence of violent crimes in metropolitan areas, in contrast to an incidence of .17% in rural areas.[4]

The greater fear of victimization among the young is related to murder statistics: individuals aged 20 to 29 comprise a shocking 33% of all murder victims,[5] whereas those in this age group comprise only 17% of the population.[6] This may be because the young are more likely to be exposed to risks than other age groups since they are more mobile than older citizens, and less tied to the security provided by family, careers and neighborhood involvement (see Chapter Two).

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[4] FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1978 p. 36

[5] FBI op. cit., p. 9

[6] Those in the 30-39 age group constitute the next largest group of victims (21% of all victims). Ages 40 - 49 constitute about 13% of all victims; 50 - 59 about 9%; and those 60 and over about 9%. FBI, op. cit., p. 9.

Murder statistics also help explain the greater fear of victimization among blacks: while blacks compose only about 12% of the country's population, a striking 44% of all murder victims are black.[7]

The higher level of fear among women reflected by the Concrete Fear Index is in part related to the extreme amounts of fear women express regarding the crime of rape. As stated, 55% of women fear rape. Statistics once again provide insight into the reasons for fear of rape: there were about 19,000 murders in 1978; in the same year, there were 67,000 rapes.[8]

Thus, as inflated as the fears of these various groups may be, they nonetheless have some statistical foundation.

- Exposure to Information

The study's findings demonstrate a strong correlation between exposure to information, or a high crime awareness, and high fear of personal victimization.

Amount of Information The data indicate that people who see or read reports of violent crime every day are more likely to show high levels of fear than those who see or read such reports less frequently: 46% who say they read daily of violent crime in newspapers express high levels of fear, compared with only 33% of those who read about crime less often.

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[7] FBI op. cit., p. 9
[8] FBI op. cit., p. 15

Similarly, 43% who see such reports on TV daily exhibit high fear, compared with 35% of those who see news reports of violent crime less often.

There is additional support for this conclusion in the finding that those with more formal schooling demonstrate a higher level of concrete fear than others. This is likely to be a partial result of greater exposure to information - not only in the context of schooling, but also in daily life, since this group is more likely to read newspapers and books and to be well-informed generally.

Impact of Exposure to Crime Stories in the Media on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Frequency of Reading About Crime in Newspapers	
	Daily	Less than Daily
	%	%
High Fear	46	33
Moderate to Low Fear	54	67
(Number of Respondents)	(629)	(417)
% of Total Sample	60	40

Gamma .23

Impact of Exposure to Crime Stories in the Media on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Frequency of Seeing Reports of Crime on TV	
	Daily	Less than Daily
	%	%
High Fear	43	35
Moderate to Low Fear	57	65
(Number of Respondents)	(746)	(292)
% of Total Sample	72	28
Gamma .13		

Impact of Media in Different Locations: There is also evidence to indicate that where one lives affects the impact of the media upon one's level of fear.

We find, for example, that individuals living in the suburbs are most affected by reading of violent crimes in newspapers and seeing reports of such crimes on TV. A partial explanation of this may be that suburbanites receive a large portion of their information about crime from the newspapers and TV broadcasts originating in large cities. For city dwellers themselves, the impact of the media may be somewhat "washed out" by the direct exposure city residents have to the risks of city living. People in small cities and rural areas have local news sources which may not carry as much news of violent crime, for as we have shown there is actually less crime to report. Thus, because they receive more crime-related information than residents of small cities and rural areas, and they are not as saturated by direct contact with crime incidents as those living in large cities, suburbanites are more affected by media accounts of violent crime.

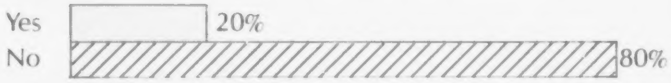
Impact of Media Exposure on Concrete Fear in Different Locations

Concrete Fear	Reading About Violent Crime in Newspapers							
	Rural		Suburbs		Small Cities		Large Cities	
	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Fear	33	28	48	25	44	37	56	40
Moderate to Low Fear	67	72	52	75	56	63	44	60
(Number of Respondents)	(101)	(99)	(144)	(89)	(215)	(156)	(154)	(60)
% of Total Sample	51	49	62	38	58	42	71	29
Gamma	.07		.38		.16		.30	

Concrete Fear	Hearing Reports of Violent Crime on Television							
	Rural		Suburbs		Small Cities		Large Cities	
	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily	Daily	Less Than Daily
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
High Fear	33	24	45	30	42	39	54	43
Moderate to Low Fear	67	76	55	70	58	61	46	57
(Number of Respondents)	(150)	(50)	(158)	(71)	(263)	(105)	(163)	(54)
% of Total Sample	75	25	69	31	72	28	75	25
Gamma	.22		.18		.08		.20	

Knowing A Victim: The survey discovered that one out of five respondents know someone who has been held up by an armed robber in the past two years. Of these respondents, 60% expressed a high level of fear, as compared with 36% of those who did not know someone who had been robbed. This confirms the common-sense perception that when crime "hits close to home" it has a significant effect.

Do You Know Someone Who Has Been Held Up By an Armed Robber in the Past Two Years?



(Number of Respondents) (1043)

Impact of Knowing Someone Who Has Been Robbed on Concrete Fear

	Know Someone Who Has Been Robbed	Does Not Know Someone Who Has Been Robbed
	%	%
High Fear	60	36
Moderate to Low Fear	40	64
(Number of Respondents)	(209)	(834)
% of Total Sample	20	80
Gamma .39		

Concrete Fear

- Social Disadvantage

It would appear to be sound logic to assume that the socially disadvantaged - those with low levels of income, education and occupational status - would have higher levels of fear concerning specific crimes than more affluent individuals. The data reveal, however, that this is simply not the case: disadvantaged people do not have significantly higher levels of concrete fear than the affluent.

This finding seems paradoxical, since the disadvantaged are subject to higher rates of victimization than the affluent.

One possible explanation is that people with higher levels of formal schooling, as we have stated, have access to more sources of information by virtue of their education. As we have suggested previously, individuals with greater exposure to information are likely to have a higher degree of concrete fear. Thus, we would expect that the disadvantaged, who tend to have lower levels of education, would tend to exhibit comparatively less concrete fear than the privileged.

Impact of Household Income on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	**Household Income**		
	Under $11,000	$11,000 to $25,999	$26,000 or Over
	%	%	%
High	43	40	40
Moderate To Low	57	60	60
(Number of Respondents)	(304)	(423)	(191)
% of Total Sample	33	46	21

Gamma .05

Impact of Occupational Status on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Occupational Status		
	Blue Collar	White-Collar	Owner/Manager Professional
	%	%	%
High	43	36	42
Low	57	64	58
(Number of Respondents)	(449)	(304)	(265)
% of Total Sample	44	33	26
Gamma .09			

- Isolation

Isolation may be experienced by groups which are not integrated into the mainstream of occupational, social and family activities. If isolation were to have an effect on fear of personal victimization, it would become most apparent in groups such as the old, those not employed full time, and the previously married - that is, the widowed, separated or divorced. These groups are in some sense severed from major social functions in our society. Those who are not fully employed are not in the "productive mainstream" of the classically defined American way of life; the old have "grown removed" from it too. The previously married have experienced a loss which has forcibly torn them from a standard pattern, as well as from their desired mode of living.

Concrete Fear

Curiously, however, concrete fear is not affected by social isolation. Perhaps this is because the isolated are less likely to be exposed to multiple sources of information, information transmitted through the workplace, family, or community channels.

Impact of Employment Status on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	**Employment Status**	
	Full-Time	Other
	%	%
High Fear	41	39
Moderate to Low Fear	59	61
(Number of Respondents)	(515)	(494)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .004		

Impact of Marital Status on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	**Marital Status**		
	Married	Single	Divorced, Widowed, Separated
	%	%	%
High Fear	39	45	43
Moderate to Low Fear	61	55	57
(Number of Respondents)	(637)	(184)	(213)
% of Total Sample	62	18	20
Gamma .01			

Cumulative Experience

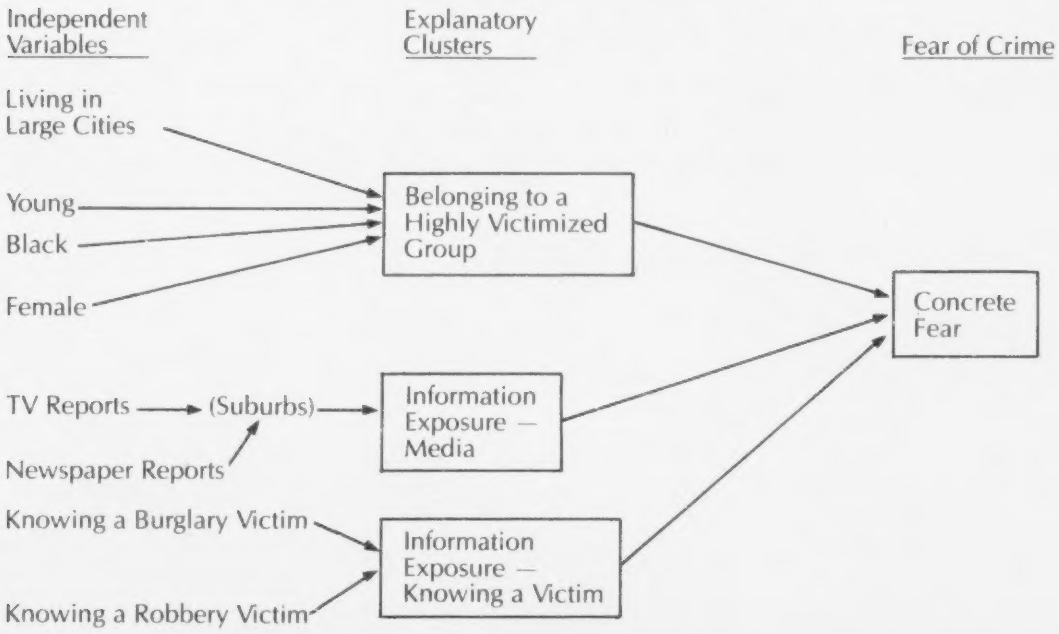
There is another "untold story" in terms of crime statistics. While the annual incidence of crime appears relatively small, a violent crime that occurs will long be remembered, both by the victims and by those close to them with whom they share the experience. People who have been robbed or beaten will carry their fear of victimization far beyond the end of the calendar year in which it happened, and so will those who know them.

Naturally, the high level of fear discovered by the present study is not a result of people reading annual crime statistics. These fears, rather, spring from a lifetime of hearing about, reading about and seeing reports of crime - and perhaps having the experience of being a victim oneself.

Summary

The fear of violent crime is a pervasive influence in American life. Four out of every ten citizens are highly fearful of being victimized. Among the particularly fearful are people who live in large cities, the young, women, blacks and those with higher levels of formal education. These fears are partially accounted for by belonging to segments of the population with high rates of victimization, and by exposure to information.

FACTORS AFFECTING CONCRETE FEAR
A DESCRIPTIVE CHART


Independent Variables
Explanatory Clusters
Fear of Crime
Living in Large Cities
Young
Black
Female
Belonging to a Highly Victimized Group
Concrete Fear
TV Reports
(Suburbs)
Newspaper Reports
Information Exposure — Media
Knowing a Burglary Victim
Knowing a Robbery Victim
Information Exposure — Knowing a Victim

Chapter Two

Formless Fear: The Fear of Non-Specific Threat in the Community

Formless Fear

In constructing the study, one of the basic research questions was whether or not fear is one-dimensional. Perhaps a fear exists that is quite different in nature than the fear of specific acts of violence, a fear that has more to do with the non-specific anxiety about lurking dangers that afflicts us all at one time or another. This "formless fear" is a diffuse feeling that we are somehow not safe in our environment: in our homes, our neighborhood, our community at large.

To determine if this fear affects people in different ways and for different reasons than does concrete fear, a measure of formless fear was devised.

Formless Fear: A Barometer

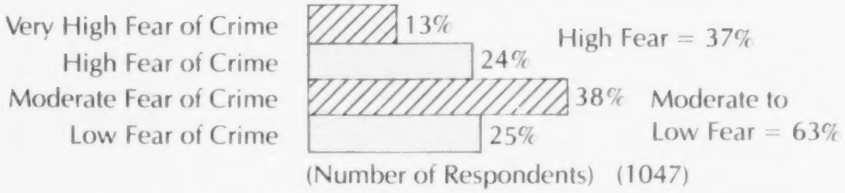
To establish a barometer of this non-specific fear of threats in the community, our analysis combines six measures of fear:

This index measures how safe people feel:

- Being out alone during the day and at night in the central business district or main shopping center
- Being out alone during the day and at night in the neighborhood
- Being alone at home during the day and at night

The accompanying table shows that nearly four out of ten Americans have high levels of formless fear. In the previous chapter, it was shown that a slightly larger number of Americans have high levels of concrete fear. However, as this chapter shall show, each fear is different in who it affects and why. The following table shows that while those experiencing the two types of fear do overlap, they are nevertheless distinct. Forty percent (40%) of these reporting a high level of formless fear experience a low level of concrete fear.

Formless Fear



Relation Between Formless Fear and Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low	High
	%	%
High	29	60
Moderate to Low	71	40
(Number of Respondents)	(660)	(387)
% of Total Sample	63	37

Gamma .44

Concrete fear and formless fear have their own distinctive characteristics. As can be seen from the following chart, the difference between the two forms of fear is essentially that concrete fear results from distinct visions of violence that an individual carries with him at all times, while formless fear concerns a vague sense of being unsafe in one's everyday environment.

Formless Fear

Two Types Of Fear	Concrete Fear	Formless Fear
Type of threat	Specific acts of violence	Diffuse, vague feeling of being unsafe
Focus of threat	Directed at the individual	Group related, in the context of the home (family), neighbors, and the community at large
Level of personal threat	High	Not as high
Location	Anywhere	Near home, in the everyday environment

Groups Affected By Both Types of Fear

By analyzing separately for specific demographic groups the set of questions contained in the Formless Fear Index, we found that there are three key groups that show high levels of formless fear who also show high levels of concrete fear.

People living in large cities express higher levels of formless fear than inhabitants of other areas. Over half (54%) show high levels of this fear as compared with about a third of those living in other areas - small cities (33%), suburbs (30%) and the countryside (31%).

Women are, once again, more fearful than men. Forty-eight percent (48%) of women have high levels of formless fear, as contrasted with only 26% of men.

Blacks, who expressed a somewhat higher fear of specific acts of violence than whites, exhibit even higher comparative levels of formless fear. Forty-eight percent (48%) of blacks are highly fearful in their community environment, while 34% of whites show an equal level of fear.

Impact of Place of Residence on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
High Fear	31	30	33	54
Moderate to Low Fear	69	70	67	46
(Number of Respondents)	(200)	(233)	(370)	(218)
% of Total Sample	20	23	36	21
Gamma .23				

Impact of Gender on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Gender	
	Male	Female
	%	%
High Fear	26	48
Moderate to Low Fear	74	52
(Number of Respondents)	(492)	(544)
% of Total Sample	48	52
Gamma .44		

Impact of Race on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
High Fear	34	48
Moderate to Low Fear	66	52
(Number of Respondents)	(860)	(118)
% of Total Sample	88	12
Gamma .18		

Groups More Affected By Formless Fear than by Concrete Fear

Beyond the three groups cited above, there are several groups which do not express uncommon amounts of concrete fear, but do display an extraordinary level of formless fear:

Those with the lowest incomes have higher levels of formless fear than the affluent. Nearly half (49%) of those with annual household incomes below $11,000 have high levels of formless fear, compared with 26% of those with incomes over $26,000.

Formless Fear

Among occupational groups, blue-collar workers are the most fearful (44%), compared with 27% of white-collar workers.

Forty-five percent (45%) of those with some high school education or less show high levels of formless fear, compared with 35% of high school graduates and 38% of college graduates. This finding presents a contrast with the Index of Concrete Fear, which showed higher levels of fear for college graduates than for the less educated groups.

Those not working full time, who are retired, unemployed, or working part time are significantly more fearful than the full-time employed. Forty-six percent (46%) of retired individuals and 43 % of other people not working full time have a high degree of inchoate fear, compared to 30% of those working full time.

Those who have experienced a marital loss, who are divorced, separated or widowed, are far more fearful than single or married people. Forty-eight percent (48%) of divorced or separated respondents and 49% of widowed respondents are fearful of undefined threats of danger, compared with 33% of single and 34% of married individuals.

The old are the most fearful age group. Forty-three percent (43%) of those 60 and over express high levels of fear, and 41% of those 50 to 59 voice similar levels of fear. The most secure group are those in the 30 to 39 age bracket, 30% of whom express high fear. Of the young, ages 18 to 29, 36% indicate high levels of undefined fear. This finding is in sharp contrast to that revealed in the Concrete Fear Index, which found the young to be by far the most fearful.

Impact of Household Income on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Household Income		
	$26,000 or Over	$11,000 to $25,999	Under $11,000
	%	%	%
High Fear	26	33	49
Moderate to Low Fear	74	67	51
(Number of Respondents)	(190)	(424)	(304)
% of Total Sample	20	46	34
Gamma .21			

Impact of Occupational Status on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Occupational Status		
	Owner/Manager Professional	Salaried White Collar	Blue Collar
	%	%	%
High Fear	34	27	44
Moderate to Low Fear	66	73	56
(Number of Respondents)	(265)	(304)	(449)
% of Total Sample	26	30	44
Gamma .05			

Impact of Education on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Education		
	College Graduate	High School Graduate or Some College	Some High School or Less
	%	%	%
High Fear	38	35	45
Moderate to Low Fear	62	65	55
(Number of Respondents)	(166)	(511)	(355)
% of Total Sample	16	50	34
Gamma .15			

Impact of Employment Status on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Employment Status		
	Working Full Time	Retired	Other
	%	%	%
High Fear	30	46	43
Moderate to Low Fear	70	54	57
(Number of Respondents)	(515)	(193)	(315)
% of Total Sample	50	19	31
Gamma .21			

Impact of Marital Status on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Marital Status			
	Single	Married	Divorced/ Separated	Widowed
	%	%	%	%
High Fear	33	34	48	49
Moderate to Low Fear	67	66	52	51
(Number of Respondents)	(187)	(637)	(100)	(113)
% of Total Sample	18	62	10	10
Gamma .11				

Impact of Age on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Age				
	18 to 29	30 to 39	40 to 49	50 to 59	60 and Over
	%	%	%	%	%
High Fear	36	30	34	41	43
Moderate to Low Fear	64	70	66	59	57
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(191)	(160)	(158)	(237)
% of Total Sample	28	19	16	15	22
Gamma .08					

Why Do Different Groups Have Different Fears?

Chapter One revealed that actual rates of victimization and information exposure are linked strongly to fear of specific violent acts while factors of isolation and social disadvantage are not. Our analysis reveals that the factors affecting formless fear in the community are quite different. Those differences emerge clearly when we analyze our findings by each of the four explanatory clusters introduced in Chapter One.

Victimization

As we have seen, actual rates of victimization are an important element in explaining why particular groups fear becoming victims of violent crimes. Rates of victimization are useful only as a partial explanation of why some groups are among the most fearful in the community. Chapter One illustrates that inhabitants of large cities, women, and blacks have sound statistical justification for their fears of victimization. These groups demonstrate high levels of non-specific fear as well. However, there are several groups exhibiting high levels of formless fear who do suffer noticeable rates of victimization and yet do not express high levels of concrete fear. These include those with the lowest incomes, blue-collar workers, the less educated, the old, those who are not among the full-time employed, and those who have experienced a marital loss.

Surprisingly, young people, shown in Chapter One to be among the most victimized groups, do not exhibit particularly high levels of fear in the context of the community. The explanation for the formless fears of these groups must go beyond a simple citation of rates of victimization.

Information Exposure

In Chapter One, the one group exhibiting high fear of victimization which was not in actuality highly victimized was the more educated. The presence of this group among the list of the fearful was explained by their greater access to information, both by virtue of their schooling and the more extensive information sources accessible to them in their daily lives.

Information access and exposure in terms of TV and newspapers, as can be seen from the following tables, are not useful in explaining the addition of several groups to the ranks of the fearful in the context of community anxiety. This is true, it would seem, because the source of "information" about the home and neighborhood is primarily one's own eyes and ears rather than the media. This contrast can be illustrated with an example. People who know a victim of an armed robbery or burglary are much more likely to exhibit higher fear than those who do not. This aspect of information exposure has a direct effect on both concrete fear and formless fear, while exposure to TV and radio only appear to affect concrete fear.

The concept of information exposure is useful in understanding formless fear in relation to youth who show high fear of specific crimes, but do not exhibit particularly high levels of the less-defined fear. It is plausible that young people in our mobile society are less likely to have developed strong ties to their local communities; less anchored and rooted, they are less likely to be influenced by their perceptions of and information about the neighborhoods. This hypothesis receives strong support from the finding that nearly half (46%) of those in the 18 to 29 age range are likely to have lived only one to two years in their present neighborhood, while substantially fewer older citizens have lived in their neighborhoods, for such a short time. (Only 31% of people ages 30 to 39, 12% of those ages 40 to 49, 10% of those 50 to 59, and 4% of those over 60 have lived in their neighborhoods for a period of one to two years).

Because youth have weak ties with the community as compared with other groups, they may be more affected by other factors; among them, visions conveyed by the media.

Fear of specific violent crimes may be reflective of images that an individual carries with him, regardless of his day-to-day environment. Perhaps these images have a greater impact on young individuals because the media, in a special sense, have become their environment. They may be more attuned to its information than to information transmitted by their everyday environments.

Impact of Frequency of Reading About Violent Crime in Newspapers on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Frequency of Reading About Violent Crime in Newspapers	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
High Fear	62	63
Moderate to Low Fear	38	37
(Number of Respondents)	(316)	(629)
% of Total Sample	40	60

Gamma .04

Impact of Seeing Violent Crime News on Television on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Seeing Violent Crime News on Television	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
High Fear	37	37
Moderate to Low Fear	63	63
(Number of Respondents)	(292)	(746)
% of Total Sample	28	72

Gamma .00

Impact of Age on Length of Residence in Neighborhood

Length of Residence in Neighborhood	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and above
	%	%	%	%	%
2 Years Or Less	46	31	12	10	4
3-10 Years	30	49	36	15	35
More Than 10 Years	24	20	52	75	61
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(191)	(160)	(158)	(237)
% of Total Sample	28	19	16	15	22

Gamma .08

The Disadvantaged

Although fear of specific acts of violence affects the affluent, formless fear does not. A possible explanation for this finding is that the affluent receive much of their information about the possibilities of victimization via the media. As noted in Chapter One, surburbanites appear more profoundly affected by reports of violent crime than those living elsewhere. Yet when they get on their own "turf" they feel relatively secure since they are likely to live in less congested, more tranquil neighborhoods. The "information" that comes through their eyes and ears concerning their community tells the affluent that they are safe.

Our data also reveal that low income, low occupational status and low education have a striking impact on formless fear, the fear more closely tied to perceptions of one's community. This supports the commonplace understanding that the poor and disadvantaged are likely to live in an environment of economic desperation which is conducive to high rates of crime. The study makes it clear that such neighborhoods are even more conducive to high rates of *fear* among their inhabitants. This is borne out by the finding that of those with incomes over $26,000, 82% say "all" their neighbors are law-abiding. Considerably fewer people with incomes under $11,000 (62%) say this. Similarly, 73% of whites say "all" their neighbors are law-abiding while only 50% of blacks, who have a history of social disadvantage, say "all" of their neighbors abide by the law.

Formless Fear

It is reasonable to conclude that the affluent absorb a substantial amount of information leading to fear from the media. The less affluent are exposed to a substantial amount of crime-related information leading to fear within their own communities.

Impact of Household Income on Perception of Neighbors

Perception of Neighbors	Household Income		
	$26,000 or Over	$11,000 to $25,999	Under $11,000
	%	%	%
All are law abiding	82	66	62
Some are law abiding	18	34	38
(Number of Respondents)	(190)	(423)	(302)
% of Total Sample	21	46	33
Gamma .24			

Impact of Race on Perception of Neighbors

Perception of Neighbors	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
All are law abiding	73	50
Some are law abiding	27	50
(Number of Respondents)	(858)	(166)
% of Total Sample	84	16
Gamma .44		

Isolation

Isolation, as defined in the first chapter, represents being removed from the mainstream of social activities. Isolation was shown not to have a significant impact on fear of specific acts of violence. This study discovers, however, that isolation does have an important bearing on formless fear in the community. As shown, such groups as the old, those not employed full time, and the widowed, divorced and separated do experience particularly high levels of formless fear.

By contrast, it is noteworthy that middle-aged individuals in the 30-50 age range, particularly those 30 to 39, exhibit the least amount of formless fear. This finding may indicate that middle age is a time when individuals are most integrated into the social mainstream of their community.

Fear in the Cities

Given the three factors which appear to have the most impact on formless fear - victimization, disadvantage, and isolation - it is not surprising that high levels of community anxiety are felt by large-city dwellers. Each of these three influences is at work in metropolitan centers.

The largest cities have the highest rates of actual victimization. The cities also have historically been the homes of the disadvantaged. In addition, socially isolated individuals may sometimes feel even more isolated in a congested city and may display little sense of neighborhood cohesion.

Formless Fear

The lack of community identification is confirmed by the study data. Fewer individuals in the bigger cities are long-time residents than individuals living elsewhere. Our data show, for example, that one-third (33%) of those in large cities have lived in their neighborhoods over 10 years, while over half those in rural areas (55%) have lived in their neighborhoods more than 10 years. Forty-two percent (42%) of respondents in small cities, and 45% of respondents in suburbs have resided this long in their neighborhoods.

We also find, for example, that only half (52%) of city dwellers feel that if they were attacked, neighbors would intervene to stop the attack and call the police. Over three-fourths (77%) of rural residents say that neighbors would personally try to stop the crime and call the police, as do 67% of those in small cities, and 65% of those living in the suburbs.

Finally, city inhabitants believe themselves to be in a riskier environment than those living elsewhere. Only about half (48%) feel that "practically all" their neighbors are law-abiding, compared with three-fourths (73%) of respondents living in small cities suburbs (76%), and the countryside (75%). Large-city residents display less community cohesion than residents of other areas.

Impact of Place of Residence on Length of Residence in Neighborhood

Length of Residence in Neighborhood	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
2 Years or Less	18	24	22	29
3-10 Years	27	31	36	38
More Than 10 Years	55	45	42	33
(Number of Respondents)	(200)	(233)	(370)	(218)
% of Total Sample	20	23	36	21
Gamma .16				

Impact of Place of Residence on Belief that Neighbors Would Help in the Case of Attack

Belief That Neighbors Would Help in the Case of Attack	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
Believe They Would Call Police	23	35	33	48
Believe They Would Call Police and Personally Intervene	77	65	67	52
(Number of Respondents)	(176)	(206)	(344)	(197)
% of Total Sample	19	22	37	22
Gamma .24				

Impact of Place of Residence on Perception of Neighbors

Perception of Neighbors	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
All are law abiding	75	76	73	48
Some are law abiding	25	24	27	52
(Number of Respondents)	(199)	(232)	(370)	(216)
% of Total Sample	20	23	36	21
Gamma .30				

Formless Fear

The Effects of Formless Fear

The clearest effect of the community-related formless fear is that vast numbers of Americans are restricting activities. One out of every four respondents say there are neighborhood places they used to go to at night but are now afraid to go to because of the threat of crime.

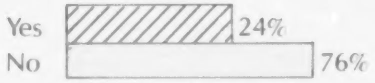
Applying the survey findings to the total population, this suggests that the freedom of almost 40 million Americans to travel in their own communities has been inhibited by a concern for safety. This is a shocking finding when one considers that the neighborhood is where people ought to feel most secure.

Not surprisingly, among the sizeable number of people who believe crime has increased in their neighborhoods over the past year, there is an even greater tendency to restrict ordinary neighborhood activities. Thirty-nine percent (39%) of those who perceive their neighborhoods as deteriorating say that there are neighborhood places they no longer go to because of fear of crime. Among demographic groups, city dwellers, those with the lowest income, those with the least education and blacks are the most likely to say that there are places they have stopped frequenting because of a perceived threat to safety.

People in the large cities are by far more likely to change their travel patterns due to fear of crime than people in smaller communities. More than one out of three (37%) large-city residents say they no longer go to some places, compared with only 21% in smaller cities, 23% in the suburbs, and a mere 16% in rural areas.

Those with low incomes are almost twice as likely as those with high incomes to say they have changed their travel patterns. Thirty percent (30%) of the lower income group say they have made such changes, compared with 16% of those with high levels of income. Thirty percent (30%) of those with only some high school education say they have restricted their activities, compared with 18% of respondents with college educations. Thirty-four percent (34%) of blacks restrict their travel, in contrast with 22% of whites.

Are There Any Neighborhood Places Where You Used to Go at Night but Are Now Afraid to Go Because of the Threat of Crime?



(Number of Respondents) (1027)

Impact Of Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends On Restricting Neighborhood Travel

Restricting Travel To Parts Of Neighborhood	Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends	
	Crime Staying the Same or Decreasing	Crime Increasing
	%	%
Yes	20	39
No	80	61
(Number of Respondents)	(782)	(213)
% of Total Sample	79	21

Gamma .45

Impact of Place of Residence on Restricting Travel in Neighborhood

Restricting Travel to Parts of Neighborhood	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
Yes	16	23	21	37
No	84	77	79	63
(Number of Respondents)	(195)	(232)	(363)	(217)
% of Total Sample	19	23	36	22

Gamma .24

Impact of Household Income on Restricting Travel in Neighborhood

Restricting Travel to Parts of Neighborhood	Household Income		
	$26,000 or Over	$11,000 to $25,999	Under $11,000
	%	%	%
Yes	16	24	30
No	84	76	70
(Number of Respondents)	(187)	(418)	(297)
% of Total Sample	21	46	33
Gamma .23			

Impact of Education on Restricting Travel in Neighborhood

Restricting Travel to Parts of Neighborhood	Education		
	College Graduate	High School Graduate or Some College	Some High School or Less
	%	%	%
Yes	18	23	30
No	82	77	70
(Number of Respondents)	(307)	(363)	(342)
% of Total Sample	30	36	34
Gamma .23			

Impact of Race on Restricting Travel in Neighborhood

Restricting Travel to Parts of Neighborhood	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
Yes	22	34
No	78	66
(Number of Respondents)	(843)	(167)
% of Total Sample	83	17
Gamma .30		

The Effects of Formless Fear On Specific Activities

To obtain more precise information about the way fear of crime is affecting ordinary activities in large and small cities, suburbs and the countryside, our survey examined the influence of formless fear, the fear more related to community, on involvement in four typical evening activities:

- Shopping
- Entertainment (going to restaurants, theatres, etc.)
- Visiting friends
- Participating in social or community-group activities in the neighborhoods

In large cities, as expected, people curtail their involvement in all of the above activities to a greater degree than people who live elsewhere. A majority (55%) of highly fearful city dwellers say that during the past week they did not go out shopping in the evening, compared with a minority (30%) who are not fearful. Likewise, a majority (63%) who show high levels of fear say that during the past week they never went out for an evening's entertainment, compared with a minority (42%) who show low levels of fear. Nearly half (49%) who are very fearful say that they did not visit friends in the evening during the past week, compared with 34% who are not very fearful.

Despite these findings, community anxiety does not have an effect on whether or not large-city inhabitants participate in neighborhood social or civic activities. It may be that such "special" activities offer sufficient attraction to overcome fears that inhibit involvement in more routine activities. It may also be that such activities function to reinforce feelings of security and solidarity within the neighborhood, and thus act to some extent as an antidote to fear in the community.

In small cities, there is a much smaller, but nonetheless, consistent, effect of fear on the restriction of community activities.

Like their counterparts in the large cities, small-city inhabitants with high fear tend to avoid shopping at night. Seventy-seven percent (77%) of small-city residents who experience high levels of formless fear report they do not go shopping at night, compared with 53% who express low fear. The impact on other activities - visiting, participating in neighborhood group activities, and going out for entertainment - is less dramatic.

In the suburbs, there seems to be virtually no restriction of evening activities as a result of high levels of fear. It seems likely that since most travel in the suburbs is by car, an individual feels "fortified" by his automobile, and thus suburbanites have the advantage of a sort of protective "armor" that city dwellers tend to eschew in pursuit of many localized activities.

In rural areas, as in large cities, fear does have a definite impact on activity. Three-fourths (75%) of those showing high levels of community anxiety did not seek evening entertainment in the neighborhood in the past week, compared with about half (53%) of those with lower levels of anxiety. Contrary to the situation in large cities, however, there is a sizeable difference between those with high fear (78%) and low fear (59%) who tend to be more frequent participants in social and community group activities. Also unlike large cities, there are few differences between the highly fearful and less fearful in evening shopping patterns and visiting of friends. It is likely that many entertainment and social activities involve travel over a considerable distance for rural dwellers. Since these activities may be more of a chore for rural dwellers than for suburban and urban dwellers, they may be more susceptible to any reluctance brought on by fear. Visiting friends and obtaining provisions, however, may be more immediate routine activities engaged in by all.

Impact of Formless Fear on Neighborhood Activities — In Large Cities

Shopping in One's Neighborhood at Night — In Large Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	30	55
At least once in the past week	70	45
(Number of Respondents)	(110)	(108)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .32		

Going Out for Evening Entertainment in Neighborhood — In Large Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in past week	42	63
At least once in past week	58	37
(Number of Respondents)	(110)	(108)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .28		

Visiting in the Evening — in Large Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	34	49
At least once in the past week	66	51
(Number of Respondents)	(110)	(107)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .20		

Participating in Evening Neighborhood Activities — In Large Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	69	70
At least once in the past week	31	30
(Number of Respondents)	(110)	(108)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .06		

Impact of Formless Fear on Neighborhood Activities — In Small Cities

Shopping in One's Neighborhood at Night — In Small Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	53	77
At least once in the past week	47	23
(Number of Respondents)	(268)	(99)
% of Total Sample	73	27
Gamma .31		

Participating in Evening Neighborhood Activities — In Small Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	65	73
At least once in the past week	35	27
(Number of Respondents)	(268)	(99)
% of Total Sample	73	27
Gamma .08		

Visiting in the Evening — In Small Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	41	49
At least once in the past week	59	51
(Number of Respondents)	(268)	(99)
% of Total Sample	73	27
Gamma .11		

Going Out for Evening Entertainment in Neighborhood — In Small Cities	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	52	59
At least once in the past week	48	41
(Number of Respondents)	(268)	(99)
% of Total Sample	73	27
Gamma .05		

Impact of Formless Fear on Neighborhood Activities — In Suburbs

Shopping in One's Neighborhood at Night — In Suburbs	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	49	48
At least once in the past week	51	52
(Number of Respondents)	(174)	(60)
% of Total Sample	75	25
Gamma .03		

Going Out for Evening Entertainment in Neighborhood — In Suburbs	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	51	52
At least once in the past week	49	48
(Number of Respondents)	(174)	(58)
% of Total Sample	75	25
Gamma .00		

Visiting in the Evening — In Suburbs	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	42	47
At least once in the past week	58	53
(Number of Respondents)	(171)	(60)
% of Total Sample	75	25
Gamma .13		

Participating in Evening Neighborhood Activities — In Suburbs	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	73	70
At least once in the past week	27	30
(Number of Respondents)	(172)	(56)
% of Total Sample	75	25
Gamma .18		

Impact of Formless Fear on Neighborhood Activities — In Rural Areas

Going out for Evening Entertainment in Neighborhood — In Rural Areas	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in past week	53	75
At least once in past week	47	25
(Number of Respondents)	(149)	(48)
% of Total Sample	75	25

Gamma .20

Participating in Evening Neighborhood Activities — In Rural Areas	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	59	78
At least once in the past week	41	22
(Number of Respondents)	(148)	(49)
% of Total Sample	75	25

Gamma .21

Shopping in One's Neighborhood at Night — In Rural Areas	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	61	69
At least once in the past week	39	31
(Number of Respondents)	(150)	(49)
% of Total Sample	75	25

Gamma .15

Visiting in the Evening — In Rural Areas	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Not at all in the past week	50	57
At least once in the past week	50	43
(Number of Respondents)	(149)	(49)
% of Total Sample	75	25

Gamma .16

Formless Fear

Moving Elsewhere

A proportionately small but nonetheless significant number of respondents say that their neighborhoods are dangerous enough to cause them to think seriously of moving elsewhere.

Six percent (6%) of the sample - which, if applied to the total adult population, represents about 9 million people - feel that they may be approaching a point where they can no longer live in their present neighborhoods. About one-fourth (26%) of respondents showing very high levels of fear state that they are actually considering relocating.

Impact of Formless Fear On Thinking Seriously About Moving Somewhere Else.

Thinking About Moving Somewhere Else	Formless Fear			
	Low Fear	Moderate Fear	High Fear	Very High Fear
	%	%	%	%
Yes	3	1	6	26
No	97	99	94	74
(Number of Respondents)	(266)	(392)	(252)	(135)
% of Total Sample	25	38	24	13

Gamma .69

A Deteriorating Situation

We have seen that fear in the community is a problem of immense scope that has severe effects on our everyday lives. And unfortunately, our research indicates that the problem appears to be worsening. Large numbers of people believe that their neighborhoods are deteriorating. One out of five (21%) say that crime has increased in their neighborhoods in just the past year. This statistic has sobering implications for the future, especially when it is noted that perceived neighborhood crime trends have a severe impact on levels of fear in the community. Fifty-six percent (56%) of those who feel crime in their neighborhoods is increasing have high levels of formless fear; only 32% of those who feel crime is staying the same or decreasing have such a high degree of fear.

It appears likely that if things continue as they are, there will be even greater fear of crime in communities across the nation.

Has Violent Crime In Your Neighborhood In The Past Year:

Crime Staying the Same or Decreasing	79%
Crime Increasing	21%
(Number of Respondents)	(1017)

Impact of Formless Fear on Perception of Neighborhood Crime Trends

Formless Fear	Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends	
	Crime Increasing %	Crime Staying The Same Or Decreasing %
High	56	32
Moderate To Low	44	68
(Number of Respondents)	(213)	(796)
% of Total Sample	21	79
Gamma .47		

Pessimism in the Neighborhood, Pessimism in the Nation

The study finds that in a very real way negative perceptions of the crime situation in one's neighborhood effects an individual's outlook on the affairs of the nation.

The survey discovers, for example, that 73% of people who feel that crime is increasing in their neighborhoods feel that "the country is going downhill," while 60% of those who feel that neighborhood crime is staying the same or decreasing feel this way. The data also show that 72% of people who say they restrict their travel in their neighborhoods feel that the country is in decline, while 59% of those who do not restrict their travel feel this way. And of those who feel that crime in their neighborhoods is greater than average, 72% feel the nation is going downhill, compared with 60% of those who believe their neighborhoods have less than the average amount of crime.

Thus, while an unsettling majority of all Americans say the country is going downhill (63%), this pessimism is obviously exacerbated by perceptions that one's neighborhood is deteriorating.

There is one contradictory - and perhaps hopeful - finding that should be cited in this context. Nearly 4 out of 5 (79%) Americans feel that there is a "below average" amount of crime in their neighborhoods, while the remaining 1 out of 5 feels that the rate crime in their neighborhoods is "average or above." Obviously, 79% of Americans cannot live in neighborhoods with "below average" crime. There are several possible explanations for this unexpected perception of our communities. First, we may be willing to accept quite a high level of crime and deem it "average." Second, we apparently want to believe that our neighborhoods are safe - perhaps safer than they really are. Third, our sense of personal identity with our community may still be a strong element in our general outlook, despite the high level of fear and anxiety we are experiencing; and the continuing strength of this bond could be a significant asset in future attempts to reverse the downward trend of the nation's self esteem.

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends on Perceived Status of Country

Perceived Status Of Country	Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends	
	Increasing	Decreasing Or Remaining The Same
	%	%
Going Downhill	73	60
Remaining The Same	27	40
(Number of Respondents)	(211)	(771)
% of Total Sample	22	78
Gamma .28		

Impact of Restricting Neighborhood Travel on Perceived Status of Country

Perceived Status Of Country	Restricting Travel To Parts Of Neighborhood	
	Yes	No
	%	%
Going Downhill	72	59
Improving Or Holding Its Own	28	41
(Number of Respondents)	(244)	(754)
% of Total Sample	24	76
Gamma .28		

Formless Fear

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime on Perceived Status of Country

Perceived Status Of Country	Perceived Neighborhood Crime	
	Average Or More	Less Than Average
	%	%
Going Downhill	72	60
Remaining The Same	28	40
(Number of Respondents)	(214)	(791)
% of Total Sample	21	79
Gamma .27		

Is the Country:

	%
Going Downhill	63%
Holding Its Own	34%
Improving	3%
(Number of Respondents)	(1016)

Does Your Neighborhood Have:

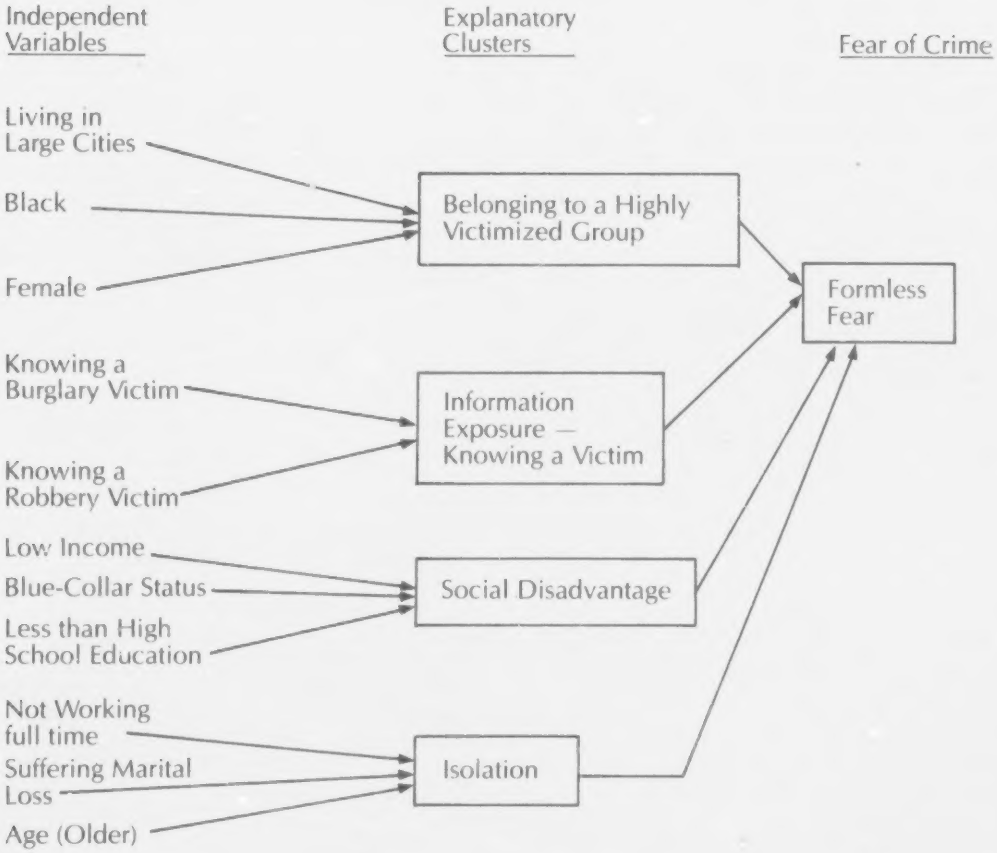
An Average Amount of Crime or More	21%
Less Than An Average Amount of Crime	79%
(Number of Respondents)	(1036)

Summary

There is a second dimension to fear of crime in America: the 'formless fear'' that concerns non-specific threats in the context of one's community. This formless fear is pervasive, strongly affecting four out of ten Americans. It is felt most strongly by those most frequently victimized (people living in large cities, women, and blacks) who also exhibit high levels of concrete fear. Formless fear, however, also plagues the socially disadvantaged (low income, blue-collar, less educated, the isolated, the old, those who are not fully employed, and individuals who have suffered a marital loss, either through divorce, separation or death). Thus, formless fear is a distinct phenomenon from concrete fear, since concrete fear is related to information exposure and rates of victimization and is not as prevalent among disadvantaged and isolated groups.

Fear in the community leads many Americans to restrict their activities, and it may also color their attitudes not only toward their neighborhoods, but toward the nation as well.

FACTORS AFFECTING FORMLESS FEAR
A DESCRIPTIVE CHART


Independent Variables
Explanatory Clusters
Fear of Crime
Living in Large Cities
Black
Female
Belonging to a Highly Victimized Group
Formless Fear
Knowing a Burglary Victim
Knowing a Robbery Victim
Information Exposure — Knowing a Victim
Low Income
Blue-Collar Status
Less than High School Education
Social Disadvantage
Not Working full time
Suffering Marital Loss
Age (Older)
Isolation

Chapter Three

Coping With Fear: Precautions in the Home, Outside the Home, and Gun Ownership

Coping With Fear

What People Do About Fear

The preceding chapters have defined two distinct kinds of fear, traced the characteristics of people most likely to exhibit these fears and examined the impact of formless fear on neighborhood activities. This chapter investigates further what people do about fear; how they cope with both concrete fear and formless fear. The first section details the variety of precautions people take in their households and away from home; the second section examines in depth the phenomenon of gun ownership in America.

This section explores several questions. First, what precautions are most frequently taken by American citizens? Second, which groups are most likely to take particular precautions? And lastly, what explanatory factors best account for variations in precautions people take?

Three types of protective measures are addressed:

- Those taken when going out
- Those taken around the home when going away for a weekend
- Those taken to protect one's home

The Precautions We Take Most Often

The picture that emerges from the data is that of an extremely cautious and security-minded America.

The study shows that when pursuing activities outside the home, seven out of ten people (70%) keep their car doors locked while in their cars in order to keep out intruders, six out of ten

(60%) dress plainly to avoid drawing attention to themselves, and six out of ten (60%) will telephone back to a friend or relative to say they have arrived home safe at home.

To protect their homes, the sweeping majority of Americans (87%) always lock their doors when they leave, and always identify people before letting them in (86%). And when going away for the weekend, 82% have someone watch their homes, while seven out of ten (69%) stop delivery of newspapers or mail, or have someone bring them in.

Ranking of Precautions

When Going Out	% Total Taking The Precaution	% Most of the time	% Sometimes
When riding or sitting in a car, do you keep the car doors locked to keep intruders out?	70	56	14
Do you dress plainly to avoid drawing attention?	60	53	7
Do you telephone back to a friend or relative to say you've arrived safe at home?	60	36	24
Do you plan your route to avoid potentially dangerous places?	47	36	11
When you go out after dark, do you get someone to go with you because of crime?	34	25	9
Do you take something with you at night that could be used for protection — like a dog, whistle, knife or gun?	25	16	9

Ranking of Precautions (Continued)

When Going Away for the Weekend	Yes
	%
Do you have someone watch your home?	82
Do you stop delivery of newspapers or mail or have someone bring them in?	69
Do you set an automatic timer to switch lights on and off?	26

Protecting One's Home	Yes
	%
Do you protect your home by always keeping the doors locked when you go out?	87
Do you protect your home by always identifying people before letting them in?	86
Do you protect your home by owning a gun?	52
Do you protect your home by having extra locks on the doors?	51
Do you protect your home by engraving your valuables with some sort of identification?	36
Do you protect your home by having a burglar alarm?	15
Do you protect your home by having bars on some of your windows?	8

Who Takes the Most Precautions?

While anti-crime precautions are clearly part of American life as a whole, there are certain groups which take more precautions than others.

Women are far more likely to take precautions than men. This is especially true in the instance of getting someone to accompany them when going out after dark because of the threat of crime. Fifty-four percent (54%) of women say they do this, contrasted with a mere 15% of men. Women are also more likely to lock their car doors and plan their routes to avoid dangerous places.

Blacks are more inclined to take precautions than whites. For example, 78% say they dress plainly to avoid drawing attention to themselves, whereas 58% of whites do so. Blacks (48%) also more commonly have someone accompany them when going out after dark than do whites (32%).

Those with low incomes consistently take precautions to a greater degree than do those with higher incomes. Nearly half (48%) of those with incomes under $11,000 get someone to go with them after dark, compared with only 16% of those with incomes over $26,000. Three out of four people in the low-income group (74%) dress plainly to avoid drawing attention to themselves, compared with one out of two people (52%) in the high-income group.

Those who are not working full time also are more zealous in taking protective measures than those employed full time. Half the respondents in this group (49%) report they get someone to accompany them when going out at night, compared with a quarter (23%) of those who are fully employed. Seventy percent (70%) of individuals in this group dress plainly to avoid drawing attention, while 53% of individuals employed full time do this.

Residents of large cities are more likely to take precautions than people in rural areas. Forty-five percent (45%) of large-city dwellers ask to be accompanied after nightfall, compared with 29% of those living in the countryside. Residents of small cities and suburbs consistently fall in between this rural/metropolitan polarity.

People living in the South are somewhat more likely to take precautions than inhabitants of other regions. Seventy percent (70%) of Southerners, for example, dress plainly to avoid drawing attention, compared with 53% of people living in the West; 41% of those in the South have someone accompany them after dark; 31% of Westerners take this precaution.

Impact of Race, Gender, Income and Employment Status on Selected Precautions

Precautions Taken	Income			Employment Status	
	Under $11,000	$11,000 to $25,999	$26,000 or Over	Working Full-Time	Working Part-Time, Retired, Keeping House, Unemployed
	%	%	%	%	%
Getting someone to go with you when going out after dark	48	31	16	23	49
	Gamma .43			Gamma .53	

Impact of Race, Gender, Income and Employment Status on Selected Precautions

(Continued)

Dressing plainly to avoid drawing attention	74	56	52	53	70
	Gamma .29			Gamma .34	
Keeping car doors locked to keep intruders out	76	68	71	67	76
	Gamma .10			Gamma .21	
Planning one's route to avoid potentially dangerous places	57	49	39	47	53
	Gamma .21			Gamma .12	
Telephoning a friend or relative to say one has arrived home safely	71	57	54	53	70
	Gamma .23			Gamma .34	
Having extra locks on doors at home	52	47	51	51	50
	Gamma .03			Gamma .01	

Precautions Taken	**Race**		**Gender**	
	White	Black	Male	Female
	%	%	%	%
Getting someone to go with you when going out after dark	32	48	15	54
	Gamma .32		Gamma .73	
Dressing plainly to avoid drawing attention	58	78	53	69
	Gamma .44		Gamma .32	
Keeping car doors locked to keep intruders out	86	69	59	83
	Gamma .46		Gamma .54	
Planning one's route to avoid potentially dangerous places	47	64	40	58
	Gamma .33		Gamma .35	
Telephoning a friend or relative to say one has arrived home safely	59	70	51	70
	Gamma .23		Gamma .39	
Having extra locks on doors at home	49	61	51	52
	Gamma .25		Gamma .02	

Impact of Geographical Location on Major Precautions Affected by Fear

Those Who Take The Following Precautions When Going Out After Dark	East %	West %	Midwest %	South %
Do you get someone to go with you because of crime?	33	31	33	41
	Gamma .11			
Do you plan your route to avoid potentially dangerous places?	50	46	46	55
	Gamma .09			
When riding or sitting in a car do you keep the car doors locked to keep intruders out?	70	70	69	76
	Gamma .07			
Do you dress plainly to avoid drawing attention?	62	53	57	70
	Gamma .12			
Do you telephone back to a friend or relative to say you've arrived safe at home?	60	61	57	65
	Gamma .05			
Do you have extra locks on your doors at home?	54	48	50	53
	Gamma .01			

Why People Take Precautions

The present study shows that levels of fear have a major affect on whether or not people take precautions and on the nature of the precautions they take. Our analysis also demonstrates how the four factors we have introduced - victimization, isolation, information exposure and social disadvantage - relate to the taking of protective measures.

Ties to Concrete Fear and Formless Fear

Our analysis thus far has emphasized the importance of distinguishing between two types of fear which we have identified as concrete fear and formless fear. In the case of precautions, we find, however, that those who exhibit high amounts of either type of fear are more likely to take precautions than those with low levels of fear.

As can be seen from the following table, fear clearly motivates people to take precautions. But with few exceptions, the table demonstrates that both types of fear induce people to take precautions equally. Almost equal proportions of the fearful, whether they exhibit high levels of concrete fear or formless fear, take the listed precautions.

The influence of fear shows up most strikingly in relation to precautions taken outside the home. Six out of ten people with high levels of formless fear, for example, ask a companion to go with them after dark, compared with only two out of ten people who are less fearful. Seven out of ten with high levels of formless fear plan their routes to avoid potentially dangerous places, whereas only four out of ten with moderate or low fear do so. Almost eight out of ten of those who have a high level of formless fear dress plainly to avoid drawing attention, while five out of ten with lower levels of fear do so. High levels of fear also affect whether or not people lock their car doors, or whether they call friends or relatives to say they have arrived safely at home.

Only one item which measures precautions taken to protect the home - having extra locks on the doors - seems to be much affected by levels of fear. About six out of ten with high levels of formless fear take this precaution, compared with four out of ten with low fear. The other home-related protective measures do not seem much influenced by levels of fear.

Why is it that fear seems a much more powerful factor in motivating the taking of precautions outside, rather than inside, the home?

It can be implied from the overwhelming majority of people who take precautions, such as locking the doors of their homes and cars, and always identifying people before letting them in, that many home-protective measures seem to be viewed as "routine." They are probably "security rituals," carried out without much thought and therefore, without much conscious connection to fear. But these precautions may tell us much about our society just by virtue of their absorption into our everyday culture. The fact that nearly nine out of ten Americans always identify people before opening their homes to them suggests that there is a "presumed level" of fear and suspicion that might not exist in a more cohesive society.

Impact of Two Types of Fear on Precautions

	Level of Formless Fear		Level of Concrete Fear	
Those who take the following precautions most of the time	High Fear	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear	Moderate to Low Fear
Precautions when going out	%	%	%	%
When you go out after dark, do you get someone to go with you because of crime?	63	20	48	26
	Gamma .68		Gamma .40	
Do you plan your route to avoid potentially dangerous places?	71	37	70	35
	Gamma .56		Gamma .56	
When riding or sitting in a car do you keep the car doors locked to keep intruders out?	84	64	83	63
	Gamma .45		Gamma .40	

Impact of Two Types of Fear on Precautions (Continued)

	Level of Formless Fear		Level of Concrete Fear	
Those who take the following precautions most of the time	High Fear	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear	Moderate to Low Fear
Do you dress plainly to avoid drawing attention?	77	52	74	52
	Gamma .46		Gamma .37	
Do you telephone back to a friend or relative to say you've arrived safe at home?	72	54	70	55
	Gamma .30		Gamma .30	
Do you take something with you at night that could be used for protection — like a dog, whistle, knife or gun?	33	23	33	22
	Gamma .22		Gamma .27	
Precautions when going away for the weekend:	%	%	%	%
Do you stop delivery of newspapers or mail or have someone bring them in?	69	70	73	66
	Gamma .05		Gamma .12	
Do you have someone watch your home?	86	79	87	78
	Gamma .19		Gamma .27	
Do you set an automatic timer to switch on and off lights?	26	25	27	24
	Gamma .06		Gamma .11	
Protecting Homes:				
Having extra locks on your doors?	62	44	28	26
	Gamma .30		Gamma .22	
Engraving your valuables with some sort of identification?	37	35	38	35
	Gamma .04		Gamma .17	
Always keeping the doors locked when you go out?	92	84	91	84
	Gamma .36		Gamma .32	
Always identifying people before letting them in?	91	83	90	84
	Gamma .38		Gamma .20	
Having bars on some of your windows?	11	5	10	6
	Gamma .27		Gamma .21	
Having a burglar alarm?	18	14	17	14
	Gamma .15		Gamma .09	

Precautions and Four Explanations of Fear

Of the four major clusters of explanatory factors which have been used in this report - victimization, disadvantage, isolation and information exposure - victimization can be regarded as the most powerful in explaining why some people take more precautions than others.

Groups identified as highly victimized - women, blacks, and residents of large cities - are among those most likely to take precautions. Of these groups, women and blacks pay the most attention to protective measures. Also, as common sense would predict, people who have themselves been victims of a burglary are more likely to take precautions than those who have not. Revealingly, we find that youth, a heavily victimized group, does not tend to take more precautions than the middle-aged or the old. (A notable exception to this, as will be shown in the next section, is the greater incidence of gun ownership among the young).

Among the socially disadvantaged, those with low incomes are the most likely to take precautions. Levels of education and occupational status do not function as predictors of precaution taking.

Among those who are isolated, not working full time is the key factor contributing to the taking of more protective measures. It appears that whether one is married, single, or previously married, has little impact on the likelihood of taking precautions.

Information exposure is important in predicting precautionary behavior in that people who say they know victims of robbery are likely to take more precautions than those who do not.

Explanatory Factors Associated with Precautions

Importance	**Explanatory Categories**			
	Victimization	Social Disadvantage	Isolation	Information Access
Very Important	○ Female ○ Race (Black)	○ Low Income	○ Not Working Full-Time	○ Knowing A Robbery Victim
Somewhat Important	○ Large City Resident ○ Having Been A Burglary Victim	○ Low Level of Education	○ Marital Loss (Divorced, Separated, Widowed)	○ Seeing Violent Material on Television
Unimportant	○ Age (Youth)	○ Occupational Status		○ Reading Reports on Violence in Newspapers

Gun Ownership

In recent years, the control of firearms, especially hand guns, has become a hotly debated issue. Yet, our study reveals that gun ownership is very common indeed. A majority of Americans (52%) say there is a gun in their household.

Coping With Fear

In addition to revealing this wide proliferation of guns in households across the nation, the data offer some fascinating insights into patterns of gun ownership. These patterns may reflect unique regional, historical and cultural influences that make gun ownership a phenomenon quite distinct from the precautionary measures discussed in the preceding section.

Do you own a gun to protect your home?

	%
Yes	52
No	48
(Number of Respondents)	(1043)

1. Who Are the Gun Owners?

People living outside large cities - particularly those living in rural areas - are the most likely to own guns. The present survey finds that 62% of rural households have guns, compared with only 42% of households in the large metropolitan areas. Fifty-four percent (54%) of small-city residents have guns, as do 51% of surburbanites. This is a striking finding, if for no other reason than given the high levels of fear in the cities, one would assume a greater percentage of gun ownership.

People living in the South are the most likely to own guns; people in the East are least likely to have them. Gun ownership is concentrated substantially in the South. Seven out of ten (69%) respondents living in the South have guns in their households. This contrasts dramatically with incidence of ownership in the East, where fewer than one out of three respondents (31%) own guns. About half the respondents in the West (51%) and Midwest (52%) own guns.

Married people are much more likely to own guns than single or previously married individuals (the widowed, separated, or divorced). Sixty percent (60%) of married respondents report having guns, compared with 45% of single people and 36% of those previously-married.

Males are also more likely to say they have a gun in their household than are females (59% of males, 45% of females). One notable contrast to this finding is that divorced, separated or widowed women are far more likely to own guns than previously married men. Sixty-eight percent (68%) of previously married women own guns, compared with 32% of previously married men.

The middle-aged and young tend to own guns more than do the old. Fifty percent (50%) of respondents under 50 years of age have household guns, whereas only 45% of those over fifty have them.

Blacks (58%) somewhat more often have a gun in their household than do whites (51%).

Those who see frequent reports about crime in the newspaper and on TV are somewhat more likely to be gun owners than those who do not. Fifty-five percent (55%) of those who say they see crime reports daily on TV own guns, compared with 45% of those who see such reports less frequently. Similarly, 54% of those who read crime-related articles daily in the newspaper have household guns, as do 48% of those who read such articles less frequently.

Impact of Place of Residence on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Place Of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
Yes	62	51	54	42
No	38	49	46	58
(Number of Respondents)	(200)	(232)	(370)	(217)
% of Total Sample	20	23	36	21

Gamma .17

Impact of Region on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Region			
	East	West	Midwest	South
	%	%	%	%
Yes	31	51	52	69
No	69	49	48	31
(Number of Respondents)	(238)	(207)	(259)	(323)
% of Total Sample	23	20	25	32
Gamma .39				

Impact of Marital Status on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Marital Status		
	Married	Single	Divorced, Widowed, Separated
	%	%	%
Yes	60	45	35
No	40	55	65
(Number of Respondents)	(635)	(184)	(212)
% of Total Sample	62	18	20
Gamma .13			

Impact of Gender on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Gender	
	Man	Woman
	%	%
Yes	59	45
No	41	55
(Number of Respondents)	(489)	(541)
% of Total Sample	48	52
Gamma .28		

Impact of Marital Status of Men and Women on Gun Ownership

Gun Owners	Marital Status		
	Married	Single	Divorced, Separated, Widowed
	%	%	%
Women	46	25	68
Men	54	75	32
(Number of Respondents)	(375)	(82)	(75)
% of Total Sample	71	15	14
Gamma .46			

Impact of Age on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	58	60	52	53	39
No	42	40	48	47	61
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(190)	(158)	(158)	(236)
% of Total Sample	28	18	15	15	24
Gamma .19					

Impact of Race on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
Yes	51	58
No	49	42
(Number of Respondents)	(857)	(168)
% of Total Sample	84	16
Gamma .13		

Impact of Exposure to Crime Reports on Television News on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Seeing Violent Crime News On Television	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
Yes	45	55
No	55	45
(Number of Respondents)	(291)	(741)
% of Total Sample	28	72
Gamma .19		

Impact of Exposure to Crime Reports in Newspapers on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Reading Violent Crime News	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
Yes	48	54
No	52	46
(Number of Respondents)	(413)	(626)
% of Total Sample	40	60
Gamma .13		

2. The Reasons Behind Gun Ownership

The pattern of gun ownership described above suggests that there are cultural and historical motivations which go beyond the factors which we have related to concrete and formless fear: belonging to a highly victimized group, exposure to information, isolation and social disadvantage. Before offering a cultural perspective on gun ownership, however, we will discuss how ownership relates to the fears and fear factors that we have described.

Links To Formless Fear

Our data show that gun ownership is associated more strongly with formless fear than with concrete fear. We find that those who own guns tend to have reduced levels of formless fear: 70% of gun owners have low levels of formless fear, compared with 30% of gun owners who have high levels of fear (a difference of 40% between the two groups). The impact on levels of fear is not as distinct in the case of concrete fear: 62% of gun owners exhibit low levels of concrete fear, while 38% show high levels of fear (a difference of 24% between the two groups). Thus, gun ownership appears to have a notable affect in reducing the undefined fear and little affect in reducing fears of specific violent acts.

This may be explained partially by many respondents answering the question for the household and not for themselves: the gun is not so much theirs as it is a protective device for the home; furthermore, it is not thought of as a defense against a specific act of violent crime. Beyond this, it stands to reason that most people keep their guns at home rather than going about armed. Therefore, the gun is not thought of in the context of personal protection against violent crimes that could occur outside the home or outside the community.

This concept of the gun as a household protective device rather than a personal armament is supported by the finding that married people are far more likely to have guns than either single or previously married people. The married may have a greater sense of responsibility for another person or for a household than do the single and previously married, who may in many instances live alone.

Impact of Gun Ownership on Concrete Fear

Concrete Fear	Gun Ownership	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	38	44
Moderate To Low	62	56
(Number of Respondents)	(539)	(501)
% of Total Sample	52	48
Gamma .11		

The Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear

Formless Fear	Gun Ownership	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	30	44
Moderate To Low	70	56
(Number of Respondents)	(539)	(501)
% of Total Sample	52	48
Gamma .28		

Victimization

Patterns of gun ownership do indeed correspond to some traditional measures of victimization. The young and the black, as the data have shown, are among the groups most likely to possess guns. Actual rates of victimization, however, do little to explain why fewer females have guns than males, and why gun ownership is less common in the cities than in the countryside.

Information Exposure

The survey does indicate that exposure to both TV and newspaper reports about crime increases the likelihood of gun ownership. We do not find, however, that more formal education, which is associated with greater access to information, correlates substantially with increased gun ownership.

Gun Ownership	**Education**		
	Some High School Or Less	High School Graduate Or Some College	College Graduate
	%	%	%
Yes	51	57	47
No	49	43	53
(Number of Respondents)	(352)	(367)	(309)
% of Total Sample	34	36	30
Gamma .05			

Coping With Fear

Isolation

Isolation does not appear to be strongly related to owning a gun. If anything, responsibility for another person, as in marriage, is associated with gun ownership. The notable exception to this occurs in the case of previously married women, who, as we have stated, are far more likely to own guns than previously married men. Among two other isolated groups - the old and those not employed full time - there is no correlation with gun ownership. We find that the young are more likely to own guns than the old, and that fully-employed people are about equally likely to have guns than those who do not work full time.

Impact of Employment Status on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	**Employment Status**	
	Full-Time	Less Than Full-Time
	%	%
Yes	51	50
No	49	50
(Number of Respondents)	(514)	(489)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .01		

Disadvantage

In spite of the finding that the disadvantaged manifest more formless fear than the affluent, the survey discovered that advantaged individuals tend to be somewhat more likely than the disadvantaged to own guns. The data disclose, for example, that only 41% of those with incomes under $11,000 own guns, whereas 59% of those with incomes $11,000 to $26,000 possess them. But while income levels predict to some extent gun ownership by the advantaged, levels of education do not: 51% of those with less than a high school education have guns, compared with 47% of those who have a college education.

Impact of Income on Gun Ownership

Gun Ownership	Income		
	Under $11,000	$11,000 to $25,999	$26,000 or Over
	%	%	%
Yes	41	59	56
No	59	41	44
(Number of Respondents)	(302)	(423)	(190)
% of Total Sample	33	46	21
Gamma .21			

A Cultural/Historical Perspective

The factors which can be used to predict levels of fear by various groups are not as useful in predicting rates of gun ownership. A further explanation, which rests on the cultural and historical orientation of the American people, is perhaps more helpful.

The survey shows that males living outside the large cities are most likely to have guns, and this appears consistent with the cultural role expectation that the males in society function as protectors. This is especially true for males in rural areas, who are traditionally portrayed as defenders of the family.

We find also that gun ownership is concentrated in the South, to a lesser extent in the West and Midwest, and to a far lesser extent in the East. These regional differences indicate that reasons having to do with historical development should be sought. The tradition of gun ownership may be prevalent in the South, West and Midwest for a range of historical reasons. In the South, perhaps this pattern of ownership relates to the South's experience as an occupied region after the Civil War, or it could have something to do with the social and economic system of plantations and slave owning that existed prior to the Civil War. In the West and Midwest, gun ownership may be linked to the frontier ethic and tradition. In the East, a tradition of gun ownership has apparently not been firmly established.

Impact of Place of Residence on Gun Ownership for Males

Gun Ownership Among Males	Place Of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
Yes	67	63	61	47
No	33	37	39	53
(Number of Respondents)	(93)	(123)	(162)	(107)
% of Total Sample	19	25	33	23

Gamma .20

3. The Effects of Gun Ownership on Reducing Fear

We have learned that owning a gun is associated with a reduction of formless fear. Yet one surprising discovery is that owning a gun does not reduce formless fear of crime as substantially for those living in large cities, as it does for people who live elsewhere. We know that large cities exhibit higher levels of crime than other places of residence in this country and we have discovered that people in large cities are more fearful than people outside them. Why does gun ownership fail to substantially reduce fear for urban residents?

Two plausible reasons can be suggested. First, although rural areas, suburbs, and small cities cannot be considered havens from crime or fear of crime, it is possible that residents of those areas believe their problems are of manageable proportions. In contrast with city dwellers, who may be disillusioned about the capacity of individuals to make much difference in a city of millions of people, Americans who live outside the great metropolitan centers may be far more likely to believe that individual effort can produce results and can prevail over difficult obstacles.

The survey also shows that blacks and youth who own guns are less fearful than those without guns. For men, owning a gun has a striking relationship to level of fear, however, this relationship does not hold true for women.

Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear

1. Large Cities	**Gun Ownership**	
Formless Fear	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	49	58
Moderate to Low Fear	51	42
(Number of Respondents)	(92)	(126)
% of Total Sample	42	58
Gamma .08		

2. Suburbs	**Gun Ownership**	
Formless Fear	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	24	36
Moderate to Low Fear	76	64
(Number of Respondents)	(119)	(113)
% of Total Sample	51	49
Gamma .19		

Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear

3. Small Cities	**Gun Ownership**	
Formless Fear	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	28	37
Moderate to Low Fear	72	63
(Number of Respondents)	(199)	(171)
% of Total Sample	54	46
Gamma .17		

4. Rural Areas	**Gun Ownership**	
Formless Fear	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	28	36
Moderate to Low Fear	72	64
(Number of Respondents)	(124)	(76)
% of Total Sample	62	38
Gamma .19		

Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear for Blacks

Formless Fear	**Gun Ownership**	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	41	53
Moderate to Low Fear	59	47
(Number of Respondents)	(97)	(71)
% of Total Sample	58	42
Gamma .14		

Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear for Youth

Formless Fear	**Gun Ownership**	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	34	38
Moderate to Low Fear	66	62
(Number of Respondents)	(163)	(120)
% of Total Sample	58	42
Gamma .14		

Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear for Women

Formless Fear	Gun Ownership	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High Fear	45	50
Moderate to Low Fear	55	50
(Number of Respondents)	(244)	(298)
% of Total Sample	45	55
Gamma .10		

The Impact of Gun Ownership on Formless Fear for Men

Formless Fear	Gun Ownership	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	19	35
Moderate To Low	81	65
(Number of Respondents)	(290)	(199)
% of Total Sample	59	41
Gamma .38		

Summary

Fear has a striking influence on the taking of precautions outside the home. Precautionary measures inside the home appear to be taken as part of routine existence in our culture and may be related to a "presumed level" of fear in our society.

Whether or not one makes the effort to take the security precautions detailed in the latter part of this chapter is clearly related to suffering in the present: the victimization suffered by blacks, women; the disadvantage of low income; the isolation of not working at a full-time job. Regional, cultural and historical differences appear to relate to gun ownership in a way that makes possession of a gun a rather unique precautionary measure. These factors make the phenomenon of gun ownership distinct from other precautionary measures.

Chapter Four
Police and the Criminal Justice System

Police and the Criminal Justice System

A Question of Confidence

The preceding chapters have examined the fears of the American public concerning specific and non-specific threats of crime and enumerated the precautions that are taken as a means of countering these fears.

The present chapter investigates American attitudes toward the police, the criminal justice system, and a range of possible punitive measures. It describes the striking differences between levels of confidence exhibited toward the police and those exhibited toward the courts.

Positive Attitudes Toward the Local Police

In the late 1960's and early '70's, it appeared the police were viewed by many people as being brutal and impersonal. Today, however, citizens across the United States manifest extremely positive attitudes toward the local police. Nearly nine in ten (89%) say their local police are respectful and that they do not use too much force. A similar majority (85%) disagree with the statement that the local police just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time. About three-fourths (76%) say that the local police treat people of all races the same. A similar percentage (73%) say that local police do not spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the bad things going on. Regarding police honesty, about four-fifths (81%) say that their local police are about as honest as most people; 14% say they are more honest; and only 5% say that police are less honest than most people. Sixty-three percent (63%) feel the police should be given more power to question people.

Positive Attitudes Toward the Local Police

	Respectful %	Arrogant %	
Which of the following best describes your local police officers?	89	11	
	Yes %	No %	
Do the police use too much force?	12	88	
	Agree %	Disagree %	
The local police just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time.	15	85	
The local police treat people of all races the same.	76	24	
The local police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the bad things going on.	27	73	
	More Honest Than Most People %	About The Same As Most People %	Less Honest Than Most People %
Which of the following best describes your local police officers?	14	81	5
	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
Do you favor or oppose giving the police more power to question people?	63	33	4

Police and the Criminal Justice System

The Index of Police Confidence

In order to establish a measure of which groups in our society have the most confidence in the police and which the least, responses to several questions were combined into a single index.

This index includes the following items:

- In general, would you rate your local police department as excellent, good, fair or poor?
- Which of the following best describes your local police officers? Are they arrogant, respectful?
- Do the police use too much force?
- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The local police treat people of all races the same.
- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The local police just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time.
- Do you agree or disagree with the following statement? The local police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the bad things going on.

From the accompanying table, it can be seen that 84% of Americans show high levels of confidence in the police, while 16% show low confidence.

Confidence in the Police

	%
High	84
Low	16
(Number of Respondents)	(970)

Who Distrusts the Police?

This study found that people who have a high level of formless fear in their communities are likely to view their local police with low confidence in greater numbers (50%) than those with a low level of formless fear (38%). The data show that whether or not someone has confidence in the police is little affected by whether or not someone has high or low concrete fear.

Beyond this, the survey reveals that certain groups demonstrate particularly low levels of confidence in the police.

Impact of Formless Fear on Confidence in Police

Confidence in Police	Formless Fear Moderate to Low %	 High %
High	62	50
Low	38	50
(Number of Respondents)	(660)	(387)
% of Total Sample	63	37
Gamma .12		

Impact of Concrete Fear on Confidence in Police

Confidence in Police	Concrete Fear Moderate to Low %	 High %
High	85	82
Low	15	18
(Number of Respondents)	(620)	(426)
% of Total Sample	59	41
Gamma .10		

Those who have been crime victims show lower levels of confidence towards their local police than those who have not been victims. Nearly a third (31%) of burglary victims have low confidence in police, compared with 15% of non-victims. One would expect to find lower levels of trust among victims of armed robbery. However, only a small percentage of respondents have been robbed, precluding a statistically valid conclusion based on our data. People under 50 demonstrate remarkably less confidence in the police than those over 50. Twenty-two percent (22%) of people between the ages of 18 to 29 have negative attitudes towards the police, compared with 21% of people in their 30's; 21% in their 40's; 9% of people in their 50's; and 7% of those 60 and over.

Blacks have a somewhat lower level of trust in the police than do whites. Twenty-three percent (23%) of blacks express a low degree of confidence in the police, compared with 15% of whites.

Impact of Being Burglarized on Confidence in Police

Confidence In Police	**Burglary**	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	69	85
Low	31	15
(Number of Respondents)	(106)	(932)
% of Total Sample	11	89
Gamma .42		

Impact of Age on Confidence in Police

Confidence in Police	**Age**				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60-64
	%	%	%	%	%
High	78	79	79	91	93
Low	22	21	21	9	7
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(191)	(160)	(158)	(236)
% of Total Sample	28	18	16	15	23
Gamma .32					

Impact of Race on Confidence in Local Police

Confidence In Local Police	**Race**	
	White	Black
	%	%
High	85	77
Low	15	23
(Number of Respondents)	(860)	(118)
% of Total Sample	88	12
Gamma .14		

Those Who Know Crime Victims

Twenty percent (20%) who know a burglary victim, and a similar percentage (23%) who know an armed robbery victim, have low confidence in their local police, compared with 13% who do not know a victim of burglary and 15% who do not know a victim of robbery. These people who have experienced the intrusion of crime into their personal lives suffer a loss of confidence in the local police officer -- the traditional representation of community law and order. As the personification of protection at the local level, the police officer becomes the scapegoat for people's increasing awareness and concern with criminal activities in their community.

Impact of Acquaintances Being Burglarized on Confidence in Police

Confidence In Police	Burglary	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	80	87
Low	20	13
(Number of Respondents)	(520)	(522)
% of Total Sample	50	50

Gamma .24

Impact of Acquaintances Being Victims of Armed Robbery on Confidence in Police

Confidence In Police	Armed Robbery	
	Yes	No
	%	%
High	77	85
Low	23	15
(Number of Respondents)	(209)	(834)
% of Total Sample	20	80

Gamma .25

People who perceive their neighborhoods as disintegrating express a somewhat lower degree of confidence in police. We have already seen that people who say that their neighborhoods have become unsafe show relatively high levels of fear. One-fifth (21%) of those who say that crime is average or above in their neighborhood have low confidence in the police, while 15% who say that crime in their neighborhood is below average have low levels of confidence in their local police. It is logical that those who believe that the crime situation in their neighborhood is deteriorating and perceive their communities as unstable have the lower levels of confidence in their local police. Conversely, in areas where there are high levels of neighborhood cohesion, people express higher levels of confidence in local police.

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends on Confidence in Police

Confidence In Police	Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends	
	Increasing	Decreasing Or Remaining The Same
	%	%
High	78	85
Low	22	15
(Number of Respondents)	(213)	(796)
% of Total Sample	21	79
Gamma .24		

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime on Confidence in Police

Confidence In Police	Perceived Neighborhood Crime	
	Average Or More	Less Than Average
	%	%
High	79	85
Low	21	15
(Number of Respondents)	(216)	(819)
% of Total Sample	21	79
Gamma .19		

Tax Support for Increasing Police Protection

Americans are astonishingly supportive of increased taxes to provide more police protection. The survey shows that about half (51%) of Americans favor the raising of taxes by their local governments in order to provide greater police protection. This is a remarkably large segment of the population, considering that popular sentiment has favored in recent years a reduction in both government and taxes, as evidenced by the "tax revolt" initiated by California's Proposition 13.

What is more, the support for greater police protection by means of increased taxes cuts across most demographic boundaries: the young and the old support it in equal numbers, as do blacks and whites, those in large cities and those in rural areas. The only clear demographic distinction is that more women (57%) favor increased taxes than do men (44%).

There are several non-demographic factors which predict support for more taxes to provide more police protection. One factor which has a substantial influence is fear of crime. Sixty-percent (60%) of those with high levels of concrete fear support increased taxes, while 44% with lower levels of fear support them. Similarly, 59% of those with high levels of formless fear favor increased taxes, compared with 46% of those who are less fearful.

People who feel they are living in deteriorating neighborhoods are also likely to evince strong support for increased taxes to augment police protection. Sixty-two percent (62%) of people who say they have restricted their travel within their neighborhoods because of fear of crime favor such taxes; only 47% of those who have not restricted their travel favor the tax increase. There is a parallel pattern in the following findings: 59% of people who say their neighborhoods have an average or greater incidence of crime support the taxes, compared to 49% who feel the incidence of crime in their neighborhood is below average; 57% of individuals who feel that crime in their neighborhood is increasing favor the taxes, compared with 49% who say that crime is staying the same or decreasing; 54% of those who feel that "most" of their neighbors are law-abiding support tax increases, as do 49% of those who feel "all" of their neighbors are law-abiding.

There is also significantly greater support for increased taxes among people who read about violent crime daily in newspapers than among people who read reports of these crimes less frequently. Fifty-six percent (56%) of those who read about violent crime daily support the tax hike; 42% of those who read about violent crime less often support it. Television viewing has a less dramatic, though corresponding, effect: 53% of those seeing violent crime news on television daily favor increased taxes, compared with 46% of people who see such reports less frequently.

Would You Be in Favor of Your Local Government Raising Taxes in Order to Provide More Police Protection?

	%
Yes	51%
No	49%
(Number of Respondents)	(1008)

Impact of Gender on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Gender	
	Male	Female
	%	%
Support	44	57
Non-Support	56	43
(Number of Respondents)	(479)	(519)
% of Total Sample	48	52
Gamma .26		

Impact of Concrete Fear on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Concrete Fear	
	Moderate to Low	High
	%	%
Support	44	60
Non-Support	56	40
(Number of Respondents)	(600)	(408)
% of Total Sample	60	40
Gamma .30		

Impact of Formless Fear on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low	High
	%	%
Support	46	59
Non-Support	54	41
(Number of Respondents)	(638)	(370)
% of Total Sample	63	37
Gamma .25		

Impact of Restricting Neighborhood Travel on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Restricting Travel to Parts of Neighborhood	
	Yes	No
	%	%
Support	62	47
Non-Support	38	53
(Number of Respondents)	(238)	(755)
% of Total Sample	24	76

Gamma .29

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Perceived Neighborhood Crime	
	Less than Average	Average or More
	%	%
Support	49	59
Non-Support	51	41
(Number of Respondents)	(788)	(209)
% of Total Sample	79	21

Gamma .20

Impact of Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Perceived Neighborhood Crime Trends	
	Crime Increase	Crime Staying the Same or Decreasing
	%	%
Support	57	49
Non-Support	43	51
(Number of Respondents)	(208)	(768)
% of Total Sample	21	79

Gamma .16

Impact of Perception of Neighbors on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Perception of Neighbors	
	All Are Law-Abiding	Most Are Law-Abiding
	%	%
Support	49	54
Non-Support	51	46
(Number of Respondents)	(678)	(326)
% of Total Sample	68	32

Gamma .11

Impact of Frequency of Reading About Violent Crime in Newspapers on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Reading About Violent Crime In Newspapers	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
Support	42	56
Non-Support	58	44
(Number of Respondents)	(402)	(605)
% of Total Sample	40	60

Gamma .28

Impact of Seeing Violent Crime News on Television on Supporting Increased Taxes for Police Protection

Support Increased Taxes For Police Protection	Seeing Violent Crime News On Television	
	Less Than Daily	Daily
	%	%
Support	46	53
Non-Support	54	47
(Number of Respondents)	(278)	(722)
% of Total Sample	28	72

Gamma .14

Critical Attitudes Toward the Courts

The previous section has described the predominately positive attitude held by Americans toward the police. This positive attitude, unfortunately, is not echoed in American sentiment toward the criminal justice system.

Eight out of every ten Americans feel that the American judicial system is not effective in rehabilitating criminals or in helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens. In addition, more than half of all Americans feel that present prison sentencing does not serve as a deterrent to crime. Overwhelming majorities believe that we can neither help those who commit crimes nor control criminal activity through our present judiciary structure. By contrast, a clear majority of Americans (66%) do feel that the death penalty would be an effective deterrent to the crime of murder.

A Punitive Public

The vast majority of respondents, when questioned on possible solutions to the crime control and rehabilitation problem, feel that increasingly harsh, punitive measures were necessary. Roughly nine out of ten people agree that mandatory prison sentences should be imposed on criminals convicted of violent crimes. Similarly, 86% feel that those who have been found guilty of violent crimes should receive long sentences. Two out of three Americans favor the death penalty for those who have been convicted of murder. Finally, almost one in two Americans support the sterilization of habitual criminals and the insane.

Police and the Criminal Justice System

In keeping with the consensus that we need to take stronger punitive measures to meet perceived deficiencies in the administration of justice, very small numbers of people believe that the current system is overly harsh. Only 3% of respondents consider the courts in their area too harsh, while only about one in ten (12%) believe that the police are guilty of using too much force.

Across a broad range of policies, public opinion on a continuum of lenient to harsh administration of judicial procedures is consistently clustered toward the punitive end of the scale.

Do You Favor or Oppose the Following Policies?

	Favor %	Oppose %	Don't Know %
Mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crime	89	7	4
Long prison sentences for people found guilty of violent crime	86	8	6
The death penalty for persons convicted of murder	66	26	8
Sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane	45	43	12

	Effective %	Not Effective %
How effective are most prisons in rehabilitating criminals and helping their return to society as law-abiding citizens?	20	80

	Yes %	No %	Don't Know %
Do prison sentences discourage crime?	48	52	
Does the death penalty discourage murder?	66	34	
Are the courts in your area too harsh?	3	95	2
Do the police use too much force?	12	87	1

Who Favors Punitive Measures?

Our analysis reveals that support for specific punitive measures exists irrespective of levels of either concrete or formless fear. With regard to both types of fear, almost equal numbers of the fearful and non-fearful favor the death penalty and long prison sentences. The fearless are no more likely than the fearful to believe that long prison sentences discourage crime.[1]

Impact of Concrete Fear on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Death Penalty	**Concrete Fear**	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Favor	74	70
Oppose	26	30
(Number of Respondents)	(548)	(368)
% of Total Sample	60	40
Gamma .06		

Impact of Formless Fear on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Death Penalty	**Formless Fear**	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Favor	71	74
Oppose	29	26
(Number of Respondents)	(585)	(331)
% of Total Sample	64	36
Gamma .04		

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[1] One exception to the pattern is that those who exhibit high levels of concrete fear are more likely to favor sterilization for habitual criminals and the insane than those with high levels of formless fear.

Police and the Criminal Justice System

Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

The death penalty has been a source of much controversy in recent years. Since it is the most drastic of punitive measures, it is revealing to examine the support for the death penalty and the sources for this support.

As stated, two thirds of *all* Americans (66%) voice support for the death penalty. An equal number (66%) feel that the death penalty does serve as a deterrent to murder. Beyond this, certain demographic groups exhibit higher degrees of support for the penalty than do others.

The old favor the death penalty more strongly than do the young. Seventy-six percent (76%) of Americans over 60 favor the death penalty, compared with 67% of those ages 18 to 29.

Married and previously married people support the penalty in greater numbers than single people. Seventy-four percent (74%) of the married, 73% of the previously married and 63% of singles say they favor the death sentence.

Whites are more likely to favor the death penalty than blacks; 73% of whites support it, compared with 64% of blacks.

Males (76%) are more likely to say they support the death penalty than are females (68%).

It should be noted that none of the demographic distinctions are striking: all differences tend to be a matter of about ten percentage points. Support for the death penalty is a dominant sentiment which seems to uniformly reflect the ethos of what was once popularly called the "establishment," which is defined demographically as older, white, male and married.

Impact of Age on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Attitude Toward The Death Penalty	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 or Above
	%	%	%	%	%
Favor	67	72	73	75	76
Oppose	33	28	27	25	24
(Number of Respondents)	(262)	(170)	(139)	(132)	(206)
% of Total Sample	29	19	15	14	23
Gamma .12					

Impact of Marital Status on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Attitude Toward The Death Penalty	Marital Status		
	Single	Married	Divorced, Separated, Widowed
	%	%	%
Favor	63	74	73
Oppose	37	26	27
(Number of Respondents)	(167)	(570)	(174)
% of Total Sample	18	63	19
Gamma .13			

Impact of Race on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Attitude Toward The Death Penalty	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
Favor	73	64
Oppose	27	36
(Number of Respondents)	(761)	(147)
% of Total Sample	84	16
Gamma .22		

Impact of Gender on Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty

Attitude Toward The Death Penalty	Gender	
	Man	Woman
	%	%
Favor	76	68
Oppose	24	32
(Number of Respondents)	(447)	(460)
% of Total Sample	49	51
Gamma .20		

Prisons As Deterrents To Crime

Because prisons are the central means of punishment for criminal acts in our society, it is important that citizens believe they function as an effective deterrent to crime. Our study reveals, however, that over half (52%) of all Americans do not feel that prison sentences discourage crime.

Taking a closer look at which groups in society feel that prison sentences do discourage crime, a pattern similar to that described in the above section on the death penalty emerges.

We find once again that the old (55%) feel more strongly than the young (39%) that prison sentences discourage crime; the males (54%) more than the females (44%); the whites (49%) slightly more than the blacks (42%); and the married (53%) believe that prison sentences discourage crime more than do single people (41%). Previously married people (40%) side with single people in believing in lesser numbers than married people that prison sentences discourage crime.

In addition to the above groups, those with lower levels of education tend to have more faith in the efficacy of prison sentences. Those in rural areas and inhabitants of the South are more likely to believe in the value of prison sentences than people living elsewhere.

There is also a marked tendency for those who believe that the death penalty is effective as a deterrent to murder to believe that prison sentences are effective deterrents to crime. Fifty-one percent (51%) of those who consider the death penalty an effective deterrent also consider prison sentences as a sound means of deterring crime, compared with 42% of those who feel that the death penalty does not discourage murder.

What is more important to note than demographic and attitudinal differences, however, is that overall, Americans are highly doubtful that prison sentences do indeed function to discourage crime. As reported, over half (52%) of all Americans do not believe that prison sentences are a deterrent and when half the population asserts its lack of faith in the prison system, society's primary means of deterring crime, it is time to ask hard questions and devote considerable thought to the issue.

Impact of Age on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Age				
	18-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60 and Over
	%	%	%	%	%
Yes	39	48	53	51	55
No	61	52	47	49	45
(Number of Respondents)	(283)	(183)	(156)	(141)	(219)
% of Total Sample	29	19	16	14	22
Gamma .17					

Impact of Gender on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Gender	
	Man	Woman
	%	%
Yes	54	44
No	46	56
(Number of Respondents)	(475)	(505)
% of Total Sample	48	52
Gamma .20		

Impact of Concrete Fear on Believing Prisons Discourage Crime

Prisons Discourage Crime	Concrete Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Yes	48	48
No	52	52
(Number of Respondents)	(578)	(411)
% of Total Sample	58	42
Gamma .00		

Impact of Formless Fear on Believing Prisons Discourage Crime

Prisons Discourage Crime	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low Fear	High Fear
	%	%
Yes	48	49
No	52	51
(Number of Respondents)	(622)	(366)
% of Total Sample	63	37
Gamma .05		

Impact of Concrete Fear on Opinion Regarding Sterilization of Habitual Criminals

Sterilization	Concrete Fear	
	Moderate to Low	High
	%	%
Favor	55	45
Oppose	45	55
(Number of Respondents)	(517)	(371)
% of Total Sample	58	42
Gamma .09		

Impact of Formless Fear on Opinion Regarding Sterilization of Habitual Criminals

Sterilization	Formless Fear	
	Moderate to Low	High
	%	%
Favor	46	60
Oppose	54	40
(Number of Respondents)	(567)	(321)
% of Total Sample	64	36
Gamma .23		

Impact of Race on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Race	
	White	Black
	%	%
Yes	49	42
No	51	58
(Number of Respondents)	(820)	(159)
% of Total Sample	84	16

Gamma .13

Impact of Marital Status on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Single	Married	Divorced, Separated, Widowed
	%	%	%
Yes	41	53	40
No	59	47	60
(Number of Respondents)	(182)	(610)	(193)
% of Total Sample	18	62	20

Gamma .02

Impact of Education on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Education		
	Some High School Or Less	High School Graduate Or Some College	College Graduate
	%	%	%
Yes	60	44	41
No	40	56	59
(Number of Respondents)	(329)	(347)	(304)
% of Total Sample	34	35	31

Gamma .24

Impact of Place of Residence on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Place of Residence			
	Rural	Suburb	Small City	Large City
	%	%	%	%
Yes	57	48	46	43
No	43	52	54	57
(Number of Respondents)	(186)	(219)	(361)	(208)
% of Total Sample	19	23	37	21
Gamma .14				

Impact of Geographic Location on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Geographic Location			
	East	West	Mid-West	South
	%	%	%	%
Yes	48	45	40	55
No	52	55	60	45
(Number of Respondents)	(217)	(202)	(243)	(314)
% of Total Sample	22	21	25	32
Gamma .07				

Impact of Attitudes Toward the Death Penalty on Belief That Prison Discourages Crime

Believe That Prison Discourages Crime	Attitude Toward The Death Penalty	
	Favor	Oppose
	%	%
Yes	51	42
No	49	58
(Number of Respondents)	(633)	(246)
% of Total Sample	72	28
Gamma .18		

Summary

Americans manifest generally positive attitudes toward the police. Overwhelming majorities say their local police are respectful and do not use too much force. Nearly two out of three people feel the police should be given more power to question people. Certain groups, however, are less trusting of the police. These include crime victims, younger adults, blacks, those who know crime victims, and those who see their neighborhoods as deteriorating.

However, given the high levels of fear of crime which pervade American life, it is not surprising that public attitudes toward the criminal justice system are cynical and attitudes toward the treatment of criminals themselves highly punitive. Eight out of ten Americans feel that the criminal justice system is not effective in rehabilitating criminals or in helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens. A vast majority of the public favors long prison sentences for convicted criminals, and two out of three Americans favor imposition of the death penalty.

Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Hello, my name is ________________________________. I am calling for Research & Forecasts. We are conducting a confidential survey about crime in America. Is there a person who is 18 years old or older who lives in your household?

1. How safe would you feel being out alone at night in your central business district or main shopping center?

   very safe
   somewhat safe
   somewhat unsafe
   very unsafe

2. How about during the day?

   very safe
   somewhat safe
   somewhat unsafe
   very unsafe

3. How often do you read articles about violent crime in the newspaper?

   almost every day
   several times a week
   about once a week
   several times a month
   rarely or never

4. How often do you see reports of violent crime on TV?

5. How often do you talk with friends and neighbors about violent crime?

6. How many hours did you watch TV last night between 6 P.M. and 11 P.M.?
   one hour
   two hours
   three hours
   four hours
   five hours
   less than one hour
   didn't watch TV at all

7. In the last week, how many days have you read your daily newspaper?
   one day
   two days
   three days
   four days
   five days
   six days
   seven days
   no days

8. How long have you lived in your neighborhood?
   under 1 year
   1-2 years
   3-5 years
   6-10 years
   over 10 years
   all my life

9. Has violent crime in your neighborhood in the past year:
increased
decreased
stayed about the same

10. Does your neighborhood have:
more violent crime than the average neighborhood
an average amount of violent crime
less than an average amount of violent crime
none

11. What percentage of the people who live in your neighborhood are quiet and law-abiding?
practically all of them
most of them
about half
less than half
none

12. In general, would you rate your local police department as:
excellent
good
only fair
poor

13. How safe would you feel being out alone at night in your neighborhood?
very safe
somewhat safe
somewhat unsafe
very unsafe

14. How about during the day?
very safe
somewhat safe
somewhat unsafe
very unsafe

15. Are there any neighborhood places where you used to go at night but are now afraid to go because of the threat of crime?
Yes
No

16. How safe would you feel alone at home during the day?
very safe
somewhat safe
somewhat unsafe
very unsafe

17. How about at night?
very safe
somewhat safe
somewhat unsafe
very unsafe

18. Is the neighborhood dangerous enough to make you think seriously about moving somewhere else?
Yes
No

19. How often do you worry about the following things?
    frequently
    sometimes
    rarely
    never

    Getting murdered
    Getting sexually assaulted or raped
    Getting mugged
    Getting beaten up
    Getting knifed

20. How often do you worry your home will be burglarized when you're not there?
    frequently
    sometimes
    rarely
    never

21. In the last two years has this happened to you?
    Yes
    No

22. In the last two years has this happened to someone you know?
    Yes
    No

23. How often do you worry about being held up by an armed robber?
    frequently
    someties
    rarely
    never

24. In the past two years has this happened to you?
    Yes
    No

25. In the last two years has this happened to someone you know?
    Yes
    No

    (Categories for Questions 26-29)

    do nothing
    call the police
    personally try to stop the crime
    call the police and personally try to stop the crime

26. If your neighbors noticed you were being attacked, would they:

27. If you noticed that a neighbor was being attacked, would you:

28. If your neighbors noticed someone trying to break into your home, would they:

29. If you noticed someone trying to break into your neighbor's home, would you:

(Categories for Questions 30-33)

Do you agree or disagree with these statements?

agree
disagree

30. The local police department is fair in the way in which they enforce traffic laws.

31. The local police treat people of all races the same.

32. The local police just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time.

33. The local police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the bad things going on.

34. Which of the following best describes your local police officers?
respectful
arrogant

35. They are:
more honest than most people
about the same as most people
less honest than most people

36. Would you be in favor of your local government raising taxes in order to provide more police protection?
Yes
No

Last week how many nights did you:
(Categories for Questions 37-40)

none, never
once four times
twice

three times six times
seven times
five times don't know, refuse
to answer

37. Go somewhere in your neighborhood for evening entertainment --to a show or somewhere like that?

38. Go shopping in your neighborhood in the evening?

39. Participate in neighborhood social or community activities in the evening?

40. Visit people socially in the evening?

Do you take any of these precautions?
(Categories for Questions 41-46)

most of the time
sometimes
never, almost never

41. When you go out after dark, how often do you get someone to go with you because of crime?

42. Do you plan your route to avoid potentially dangerous places?

43. Do you take something with you at night that could be used for protection -- like a dog, whistle, knife or gun?

44. When riding or sitting in a car do you keep the car doors locked to keep intruders out?

45. Do you dress plainly to avoid drawing attention?

46. Do you telephone back to a friend or relative to say you've arrived safe at home?

Do you protect your home by:
(Categories for Questions 47-54)

Yes
No

47. Engraving your valuables with some sort of identification?

48. Always keeping the doors locked when you go out?

49. Having extra locks on your doors?

50. Always identifying people before letting them in?

51. Having bars on some of your windows?

52. Having a burglar alarm?

53. Having a fire alarm?

54. Owning a gun?

Now think of the last time you went away for a weekend or more:

55. Did you stop delivery of newspapers or mail or have someone bring them in?

56. Did you have someone watch your home?

57. Did you set an automatic timer to switch on and off lights?

58. What is the main cause of violent crime in America today?
READ
1 = the need for money
2 = unemployment
3 = poverty (slums)
4 = leniency of courts (too easy on offenders, permissive laws)
5 = breakdown of traditional values (disregard of human life)
6 = the family (lack of parental supervision)
7 = TV (media coverage of crime)
8 = racial tensions
9 = don't know

Other (write in): ______________________________

____

59. How effective are most prisons in rehabilitating criminals and helping their return to society as law-abiding citizens?
1 = very effective
2 = effective
3 = not particularly effective
4 = totally ineffective

60. Is American today in:
excellent shape
good shape
fair shape
poor shape

61. Is the country:
going downhill
holding its own
improving

62. What problem facing the federal government is most serious?
    - inflation (the economy)
    - energy (oil)
    - foreign affairs (Iran, Russia, Afghanistan, defense)
    - poverty
    - unemployment (joblessness)
    - crime
    - education (school system)
    - other (write in): ______________________________

63. How effective is the federal government in solving this problem?
    - very effective
    - effective
    - not very effective
    - totally ineffective

Do you favor or oppose the following policies?
(Categories for Questions 64-72)

- favor
- oppose

64. The busing of black and white school children to achieve racial integration

65. A law requiring a person to obtain a police permit before buying a hand gun

66. Giving the police more power to question people

67. Wiretapping

68. Mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crime

69. Probation for first offenders at the discretion of the court

70. Sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane

71. Long prison sentences for people found guilty of violent crime

72. The death penalty for persons convicted of murder

(Categories for 73-77)

- Yes
- No

73. Does the death penalty discourage murder?

74. Do prison sentences discourage crime?

75. Are the courts in your area too harsh?

76. Do the police use too much force?

77. Is discrimination the main reason for the social problems faced by black people?

78. During most of your adult life is the main wage earner in your household:

salaried with a white collar job
a blue collar job
often lacking a steady job or unemployed
an owner of a business
a professional working for himself or herself
an executive in a big company
a farmer

79. Are you:
single
married
divorced
widowed
separated

80. Are you now:
employed full-time
employed part-time
retired
keeping house
looking for work

81. What is the last grade of school you completed?
8th grade or less
some high school
high school graduate
some college
college education
post graduate

82. What is your total household income category before taxes for the past year, 1979?
under $3,000
$3,000 to $7,000
$8,000 to $10,000
$11,000 to $15,000
$16,000 to $20,000
$21,000 to $25,000
$26,000 to $30,000
over $30,000

83. Is your ethnic group or racial background:
White
Black
Oriental
Hispanic
Mexican-American
Other (Specify) ____________________

84. Do you live in a:
    large city
    small city
    suburb
    rural area

85. What is your age category?
    18 to 29
    30 to 39
    40 to 49
    50 to 59
    60 to 64
    65 to 69
    70 to 74
    75 or over

86. Interview is with:
    Male
    Female

Methodology

Methodology

After discussions with many experts in the field, a draft questionnaire was constructed, pretested and fielded.

The timetable for the various phases of this study was organized as follows:

1.	Literature Review and Re-analysis	October, November, 1979
2.	Questionnaire Construction Pretesting, and Final Questionnaire Refinement	December, 1979; January, February, March, 1980
3.	Fielding of Questionnaire	April, May 1-9, 1980
4.	Data Analysis and Report Writing	May 12 - August 30, 1980

Sample Selection

The sample used in this study was a national random digit sample of the telephones of the United States constructed for Research & Forecasts by Survey Sampling, Westport, Connecticut.

The method used to construct such samples involves the use of a massive data base which is updated frequently. Using the data base, a specialized computer program generates a list of telephone numbers that is organized in such a manner that each telephone has an equal probability of being called.

The use of the random digit dialing technique overcomes one of the main objectives to telephone surveys, the problem of unlisted numbers. Because the data base from which the sample is drawn is constructed from working exchanges supplied by the nation's telephone companies rather than telephone books, both listed and unlisted numbers have an equal probability of being called.

Another criticism of telephone surveys in the past has been that telephone surveys tend to oversample the affluent, because only they can afford telephones. However, U.S. National Health Service surveys in 1976 found that 91.6% of American households now contain telephones. Consequently, although national random telephone surveys may still somewhat undersample the poor, it is clear that any bias is relatively small.

Methodology

Data Collection

Twenty trained interviewers conducted phone interviews for a period of six weeks (April - May 9, 1980). The interviews were conducted during the week between the hours of 6:00 P.M. and 11:00 P.M., and on weekends between the hours of 10:30 A.M. and 10:30 P.M. The interview took approximately thirty-five minutes.

In order to assure random selection, three call-backs were made for those telephone numbers which resulted in non-response before the number was discarded. Final non-response was 12 percent of our phone calls and consisted of three groups: 1) those households where the phone was not answered, 2) those households where individuals simply refused to be interviewed, and 3) those households for whom the given time was not convenient. Although three call-backs were made for all three categories of non-response, the first two categories represent non-response problems which will persist regardless of interviewer persistence and the comprehensiveness of the sample size. Interviewers attempted to set convenient times to call back respondents in the third category to minimize the number of individuals in the third category.

In addition, 3 percent of our phone calls resulted in interviews which were terminated while the interview was in progress.

One thousand and forty-seven interviews were fully completed and usable. This represents a 85 percent overall response rate.

Sampling Distribution

Data collection techniques ensured that the randomness of the telephone number selection process was maintained. The random selection process ensures access to probability theory to measure the sampling error for our sample.

The normal approximation of the 95% confidence limits of the dichotomized percentage results of the sample may be computed as follows:

$$\text{Sample Confidence Limits} = p \pm \left[1.96\sqrt{1-\frac{n}{N}} \cdot \sqrt{\frac{p(N-1)}{(1-p)}} + \frac{1}{2n}\right]$$

Where p is the percentage result divided by 100, n is the sample size, and N is the total number of persons in the groups from which the probability sample is generated.

A table of the estimated sampling error for binomial percents at the 95% confidence level is reproduced below.

Estimated Sampling Error For A Binomial

(95% Confidence Level)

----Binomial Percentage Distribution----

Sample Size	50/50	60/40	70/30	80/20	90/10
100	10	9.8	9.2	8	6
200	7.1	6.9	6.5	5.7	4.2
300	5.8	5.7	5.3	4.6	3.5
400	5	4.9	4.6	4	3
500	4.5	4.4	4.1	3.6	2.7
600	4.1	4	3.7	3.3	2.4
700	3.8	3.7	3.5	3	2.3
800	3.5	3.5	3.2	2.8	2.1
900	3.3	3.3	3.1	2.7	2
1000	3.2	3.1	2.9	2.5	1.9

The sample size of 1,047 thus ensures that the statistics collected for the sample and the conclusions drawn from data analysis will be valid, within a 2% to 3% margin of error when extrapolated to the entire United States adult population of 155 million.

The geographic distribution of the respondents is as follows:

Geographic Distribution

East-----------23

Midwest--------25

West-----------21

South----------31

Weighting

The Initial sample did not exactly correspond to recent Census Bureau estimates of the demographic characteristics of the population over age 18.*

In order to make the two populations correspond more closely, we weighted our sampled population on two variables: gender and income.

The Census Bureau estimates the 1979 population over 18 as being 41.9% male and 58.1% female. In order to correct the sample findings to approximate the census figures, males in the sample were increased by a factor of 1.136 and females were decreased by a factor of .902.

Similarly, the income groups were weighted.** The group earning under $2,999 for 1978 (5.9% of the sample) was multiplied

*U.S. Bureau of the Census - Statistical Abstract of the United States. p., 29
**ibid, p. 449

by a factor of 3.4. Those earning $3,000 to $7,999 per year (15.7% of the sample) were multiplied by a factor of 1.2. Those earning $8,000 to $11,000 (11.5% of the sample) were multiplied by a factor of 1. Those earning $11,000 to $15,999 per year (14.5% of the sample) were multiplied by a factor of .61. Those earning $16,000 to $21,000 (16.9% of the sample) were multiplied by a factor of .65. Those earning $21,000 or over (35.5% of the sample) were multiplied by a factor of 1.

Data Analysis

All data, along with a numerical code for each person, were entered on 80-column punched cards. The cards were punched as data were collected and then entered onto a disc file of the Citishare Corporation Dec-20 computer. Descriptive statistics were collected throughout the data collection process to test for poor questions and bias in the sample. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data base system was used to store value and variable labels as well as data for each case.

Descriptive statistics were collected for the complete weighted sample. Analysis was carried out based on construction of two-way and three-way contingency tables, controlling for key variables. This enabled us to uncover relationships masked by the presence of a third variable.

Whenever possible, where data was of the interval or ratio level, or dichotomized, multivariate regression analysis, partial correlation analysis, and factor analysis procedures were undertaken to further explore the dynamic interaction between sets of variables.

All data were transcribed to magnetic tape. A clearly written code book was created with the tape and is available for additional analysis by other research groups.

Construction of Composite Measures

To ensure more valid measurement, composite variables were constructed to measure fear of crime and confidence in police. The use of composite measures is particularly useful for three reasons: 1) to minimize bias which may be found in responses to individual items; 2) to provide a broad range of variation with varying levels of intensity; and 3) to provide a valuable technique for data reduction.

Two major issues were addressed in selecting questions for each scale: (1) "Face Validity": The existence of a logically rational explanation of the interrelationship between questions, and

(2) Unidimensionality: Each item on the scale deals with the same conceptual dimension. The first step in the construction of the composite fear measure was to analyze the bivariate relationship between items under consideration for inclusion in the composite fear variable. Analysis of the matrix of correlation coefficients revealed two distinct clusters of items. These clusters were used to form two measures of fear of crime: the Formless Fear Scale and the Concrete Fear Scale.

A. Formless Fear Scale

The measure of formless fear is based upon the question: How safe would you feel? (under several circumstances):

- How safe would you feel being out alone at night in your central business district or main shopping center? (V8)
- How about during the day? (V9)
- How safe would you feel being out alone at night in your neighborhood? (V20)
- How about during the day? (V21)
- How safe would you feel alone at home during the day? (V23)
- How about at night? (V24)

The correlation coefficients among the items are listed below as well as the scale-item correlations. They are quite high and reveal the existence of a clear, unidimensional scale.

Formless Fear Index: individual item correlation coefficients

	V8	V9	V20	V21	V23	V24
V8		.92	.83	.80	.77	.69
V9			.74	.87	.76	.68
V20				.97	.79	.80
V21					.87	.71
V23						.98
V24						
Scale-item correlations:	.63	.74	.74	.81	.79	.72

These correlation coefficients indicate a very strong bivariate relationship among the items.

The high scale-item correlations indicate that the scale strongly predicts individual item responses for those items included in the index.

Formless Fear Guttman Scale Statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility = 0.8938

Minimum marginal reproducibility = 0.7023

Coefficient of scalability = 0.6431

B. Concrete Fear Scale:

The concrete fear scale was formed by responses to the following questions:

How often do you worry about the following things?

1 = frequently 3 = rarely
2 = sometimes 4 = never

- Getting murdered (V26)
- Getting sexually assaulted or raped (V27)
- Getting mugged (V28)
- Getting beaten up (V29)
- Getting knifed (V30)
- How often do you worry about being held up by an armed robber? (V39)

The inner cohesion among these items is quite high as shown by the matrix of correlation coefficients:

The correlation coefficients among the items are listed below as well as the scale-item correlations.

Concrete Fear Index: individual item correlation coefficients

	V26	V27	V28	V29	V30	V39
V26		.85	.84	.87	.88	.77
V27			.85	.85	.80	.60
V28				.97	.96	.77
V29					.98	.76
V30						.76
V39						
Scale-item correlations	.84	.75	.96	1.0	.98	.66

Concrete Fear Guttman Scale Statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility = .85

Minimum marginal reproducibility = .56

Coefficient of scalability = .66

C. Confidence in the Local Police Index:

In order to formulate an overall measure of attitudes toward the local police, several items were combined. The questions included in the index were as follows:

° In general, would you rate your local police department as:

1 = excellent
2 = good
3 = fair
4 = poor

Do you agree or disagree with these statements?

1 = agree
2 = disagree

° The local police treat people of all races the same.

Response 1 was coded as 1 in calculating the composite confidence scale.

° The local police just enjoy pushing people around and giving them a hard time.

Response 2 was coded as 1 on the composite confidence scale.

- The local police spend most of their time going after people who do little things wrong and ignore most of the bad things going on.

  Response 2 was coded as 1 in calculating the composite confidence scale.

- Which of the following best describes your local police officers?

  - They are: 1 = respectful
    2 = arrogant

  Response 1 was coded as 1 in calculating the composite confidence scale.

- Do the police use too much force?

  1 = yes
  2 = no

Response 2 was coded as 1 in calculating the composite confidence scale.

As with the other composite scales, the overall score was the sum of the scores for each variable.

The range of values on the confidence scale was 0 to 6. The index was dichotomized: 0-2 = low confidence, 3-6 = high confidence.

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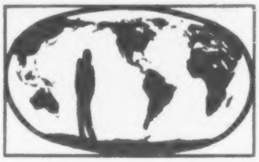
THE FIGGIE REPORT PART II:

THE CORPORATE RESPONSE TO FEAR OF CRIME



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Preface

by

Harry E. Figgie, Jr.
Chief Executive Officer
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Part I of The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime (based on a survey of the general public), released in September of 1980, struck a sensitive nerve all across the United States. In editorials, in front-page articles, on television and radio news programs and talk shows, and, perhaps most important, in private conversations, the notion that we are all victims of crime, regardless of whether or not we have been personally attacked, was discussed and documented. More than 1,000 requests for and comments about the study have been received from the White House, the U.S. Supreme Court, the FBI and other federal agencies, state government authorities, educational institutions, public corporations and private citizens.

Part I of The Figgie Report found that two of every five Americans are highly fearful that they will become victims of violent crimes such as murder, rape, robbery or assault, and that even greater percentages of the population are taking a variety of rather strict security precautions. Part II of The Figgie Report finds that the senior executives of FORTUNE 1000 companies are concerned about crimes unique to the corporate milieu (kidnapping for example), and that the precautions they take are appropriately comprehensive. Part III of The Figgie Report, to be released later this year, examines community leaders' responses to crime and its prevention in ten major cities across the country.

A-T-O is pleased to sponsor The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime series because as Americans, and as members of the international business community, we believe that there are few greater threats to our freedom than crime and the fear of crime. Approximately 1% of the population is terrorizing the other 99%. If the public and our corporate leaders do not join together to draft solutions to their common problems, the law-abiding citzen will continue to be held hostage.

Crime and the fear it instills within all our lives will not vanish overnight, nor is there one panacea that will provide a solution to its causes. However, if we allow society to deteriorate around us, we eventually will be engulfed in the decay. It is my fervent hope that the following report, in conjunction with Parts I and III, has made, and will continue to make, an important contribution by describing in detail a problem which is on the minds of all Americans.

Overview

The Figgie Report, Part II: Corporate Response to Fear of Crime focuses on a special segment of Americans responsible for protecting not only themselves and their families, but also billion-dollar companies and ultimately hundreds of thousands of employees. The study finds that FORTUNE 1000 senior executives take a wide variety of stringent personal and corporate measures to combat crime.

The extent of their precautions is tied to their perceptions of increasing crime, and, more dramatically, to their concern about the volatile international arena in which they function. Specifically, corporate executives are particularly concerned about the possible kidnapping of themselves, their families, and their business associates.

Review of The Figgie Report, Part I

The most alarming conclusion which can be drawn from Part I of The Figgie Report is that as a result of our fear we may soon be living in armed fortresses -- both at home and within ourselves.

The report found that two out of every five Americans are afraid they will be murdered, raped, robbed or assaulted. Three of every five Americans dress plainly in order to avoid drawing attention to themselves. Due to fear, one in four avoid neighborhoods they used to visit.

Overview

Part I of the study also discovered other ways in which Americans deal with their fears. Eighty-seven percent (87%) of the public protect their homes by always locking their doors when they go out, and 86% always identify people before allowing them entry. Half of United States citizens have extra locks, one-sixth have burglar alarms, and more than one in three engrave their valuables with some sort of identification.

The Figgie Report Part II: The Corporate Response to Fear of Crime

Part II of The Figgie Report finds that senior executives of FORTUNE 1000 companies are taking a very active stand in combatting personal and corporate crime. Fifty-three percent (53%), secure their homes with burglar alarms, fire alarms and other safety measures. More than one in four have an unlisted telephone number and keep the location of their residence confidential. More than one in three vary their daily route to work. The executives are equally cautious when away from home. One in four, for example, thoroughly inspects his hotel room for hidden intruders.

FORTUNE 1000 executives also take extensive measures to protect their corporations. More than three of every five FORTUNE 1000 companies have a burglar alarm and electric floodlighting. Half have automatic light timers and closed circuit television. About two in five have electronic card identification systems, and one in four has armed guards.

Kidnapping: A Major Executive Concern

The purpose of our analysis in Part II of The Figgie Report was to determine why corporate executives demonstrate such concern about crime. Why do they surround their corporate headquarters with modern-day versions of moats and alligators? What is it that compels them to look under their hotel room beds for intruders, to keep their home telephone numbers and addresses secret, and to vary their routes to work?

The burgeoning crime rate and the executives' subsequent fear of crime certainly is one reason they are taking these and other precautions. In fact, 46% of senior executives say that crime in their corporate neighborhood has affected company security policies. Thirty percent (30%) say that at least three types of violent crime have increased in their corporate neighborhood. A few companies have even considered relocating because of the threat of crime. Those who perceive a recent increase in crime are slightly more inclined to take precautions than those who do not perceive an increase. Those residing in large cities and those who know a crime victim also tend to exhibit somewhat higher levels of concern.

There is one factor, however, that is by far the most dramatic indicator of an executive's concern. Four out of every ten senior FORTUNE 1000 executives (39%) are concerned that they, a family member, or a business associate will be kidnapped. These 39% are far more likely to take security precautions than those who do not express concerns about kidnapping. Seventy-six percent (76%) of those who express such kidnapping concerns take at least one residential precaution (installing burglar alarms, double locks, etc.) and 53% take at least one precaution when they travel (inspect hotel rooms, etc.), compared with 49% and 35%, respectively, of those who are not fearful about being kidnapped.

This strong relationship between fear of kidnapping and taking security precautions is an indication of the global scope of businessmen's activities and concerns. Senior executives today are part of an international community. It is not surprising, therefore, that an equally powerful predictor of concern about crime is whether a company has extensive overseas ties with countries where executives have been attacked. Forty-three percent (43%) of all FORTUNE 1000 companies do business in such countries, and more than half of their top executives exhibit kidnapping concerns, compared with only 28% of those executives from companies which do not have such relations.

Although this fear of kidnapping far outstrips its actual incidence, it is indicative of a very real increase in terrorist activities worldwide. Forty-five percent (45%) of all terrorist activities are directed against business,[1] and 55% of all Americans kidnapped abroad between 1970 and 1978 were businessmen.[2]

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[1] The New York Times, December 13, 1979, page 1.

[2] International Terrorism and Business Security, E. Patrick McGuire, The Conference Board, 1979, page 7.

Overview

During the 1970's, business paid an estimated $250 million in ransoms,[3] while terrorism as a whole has cost multinationals twice that amount.[4] And there is no indication that terrorist activities will abate. According to a recent Conference Board report, terrorist activities are running at a rate of 250 to 300 a month worldwide,[5] and the author of that report, E. Patrick McGuire, noted recently that "one of the popular misconceptions is that terrorism is not very effective. Three out of four terrorist attacks since 1970 were considered successful."[6] It is no wonder that kidnap coverage is now one of the fastest growing segments of the insurance business.[7]

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[3] The New York Times, November 19, 1979, page D1.

[4] Saturday Review, January 5, 1980, page 13.

[5] International Terrorism and Business Security, E. Patrick McGuire, The Conference Board, 1979.

[6] The New York Times, November 19, 1979, page D6.

[7] Saturday Review, page 16.

The Corporate Profile

The final section of Part II of The Figgie Report examines the attitudes of top executives toward the criminal justice system. Many of the same questions were asked of the general public in Part I of the report, making possible a comparison between the views of the executives and the views of all Americans.

While the average citizen may not be in a position requiring him or her to take as many precautions as senior executives, both groups believe that public policy could be redirected in such a way as to be more effective in preventing crime. For example:

- 97% of senior executives favor long prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes, compared with 89% of the general public.
- 96% of senior executives favor mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes, compared with 86% of the general public.
- 92% of senior executives favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder, compared with 66% of the general public.
- 88% of senior executives favor giving the police more power to question people, compared with 63% of the general public.
- 76% of senior executives favor wiretapping, compared with only 21% of the general public.
- 46% of senior executives favor sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane, compared with 45% of the general public.

The above figures indicate a deep dissatisfaction with our present criminal justice system. Top executives are even more concerned than the general public, and they are also more apt to believe that punitive measures are effective in combatting crime.

Overview

Eighty-five percent (85%) of top executives feel that prison sentences discourage crime, compared with only 48% of the general public, and 90% of executives believe that the death penalty discourages murder, compared with 66% of the American public as a whole.

Finally, neither group has much confidence in our prison system. Ninty-nine percent (99%) of senior executives and 80% of the public feel our prisons are ineffective in rehabilitating criminals. Top executives do seem to recognize, however, that without effective rehabilitation efforts the crime problem will never be solved. They also realize that the answer is not simply to lock up criminals and throw away the key. Sixty-six percent (66%) favor probation for first offenders at the discretion of the court, and 58% feel that the emphasis of prisons should be rehabilitation.

Solutions

These survey results, as well as the recent national election, demonstrate our nation's concern that we must be tougher on ourselves and on those who break our laws. Over half (55%) of FORTUNE 1000 senior executives believe that the main cause of crime is the breakdown of traditional values and family structure. About two fifths (38%) cite the leniency of the courts and less than a third (30%) cite economic factors such as unemployment and poverty.

Overview

Clearly, there is a growing sense of frustration in America about the problem of crime. Corporate executives are concerned about this problem not only on a local and national level, but on an international level as well. Subsequently, they are taking comprehensive security precautions in order to protect themselves, their families and their corporations. They are reacting to a volatile, often violent, international and national scene.

Chapter One:
Dimensions of Corporate Security Programs

Dimensions of Corporate Security Programs

Corporate Headquarters And Neighborhood Crime

Nearly half (46%) of all FORTUNE 1000 top executives report that the threat of crime in their corporate neighborhood has influenced their company's security program. Among those headquartered in large cities, 62% state that neighborhood crime has shaped programming, compared with 41% of executives in smaller cities, and 31% of those in suburban and rural areas.

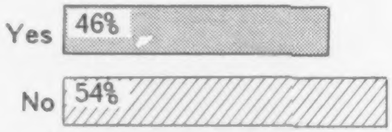
The impact of perceived threat of crime is understandable since two out of every three (64%) senior executives say that the incidence of at least one type of crime has increased in their corporate neighborhood within the past five years (see Table 4). Thirty percent (30%) believe that the incidence of three or more types of crime has increased over this period. Specifically:

- 60% say burglary has increased
- 50% say robbery has increased
- 46% say car theft has increased
- 34% say sexual assault has increased
- 23% say homicide has increased

Part I of The Figgie Report on fear of crime among the general public discovered that those in large cities are more likely to believe that their neighborhoods are deteriorating than small city, suburban and rural residents. This is true in terms of executives' perceptions as well. Thirty-six percent (36%) of executives working in large cities perceive increases in at least three types of crime, compared with 32% of those in small cities, and 15% in suburban or rural areas.*

Table 1: Perceived Relationship Between Neighborhood Crime and Corporate Security Policy

Has the threat of crime in the neighborhood of your headquarters affected security policy?



(Number of Respondents) (303)

Table 2: Location and the Perceived Relationship Between Neighborhood Crime and Corporate Security Policy

Is Neighborhood Crime Affecting Company Security Policy?	Location		
	Suburban-Rural	Medium-Small City	Large City
	%	%	%
Yes	31	41	62
No	69	59	38
(Number of Respondents)	(90)	(92)	(114)
% of Total Sample	30	31	39

Gamma = .42

*This perception of a greater increase in crime in large cities reflects the statistical reality that crime is far more pervasive in metroplitan areas. The 1978 FBI report shows a .58% incidence of violent crimes in metropolitan areas in contrast to an incidence of .17% in rural areas.

FBI Uniform Crime Reports, 1978, page 86.

Table 3: Perceived Increasing Crime in the Corporate Neighborhood

In the past five years do you feel that the incidence of any of the following crimes has increased in the neighborhood where your corporate headquarters is located?

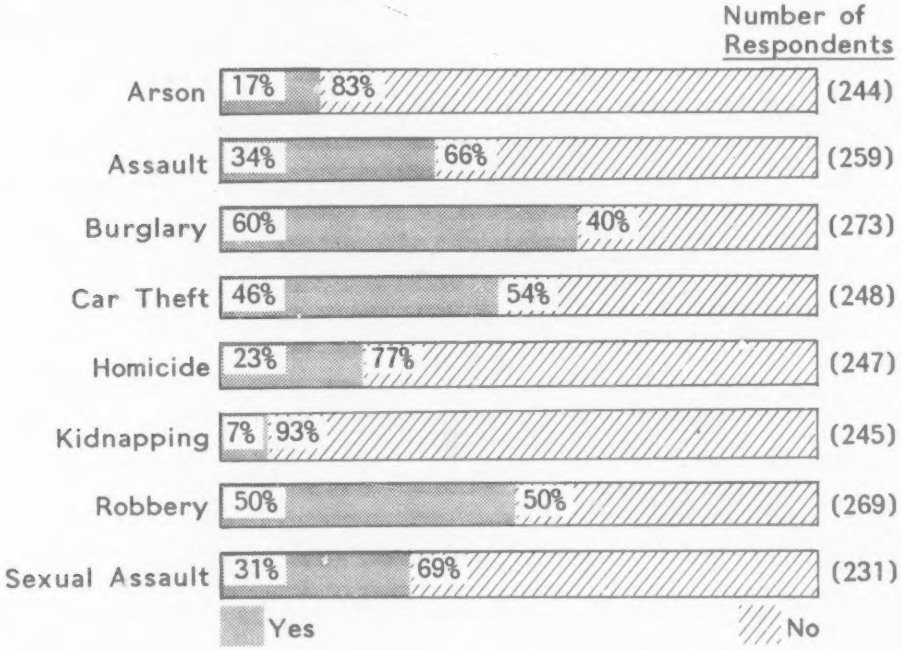


Table 4: Index of Perceived Increasing Crime in the Corporate Neighborhood

Number of Types of Crimes Increasing	%		
No types of crime	36	36%	None
1 type of crime	20	34%	Moderate
2 types of crime	14		
3 types of crime	12	30%	High
4 types of crime	8		
5 types of crime	7		
6 types of crime	3		
(Number of Respondents)	(314)		

* See methodology for details of index construction.

Table 5: Location and Index of Perceived Increasing Crime in the Corporate Neighborhood

Increase in Neighborhood Crime	Location		
	Large City %	Medium-Small City %	Suburban-Rural %
None	29	32	51
Moderate	35	36	34
High	36	32	15
(Number of Respondents)	(119)	(96)	(91)
% of Total Sample	39	31	30

Gamma = .30

Relocation Due To Crime

Asking FORTUNE 1000 executives about the bearing of crime considerations on the location of their corporate headquarters, we find:

- 1% say crime considerations were an important factor in choosing their present corporate headquarters location.
- 5% say the threat of crime has led to serious discussions about possible relocation of company headquarters to a more secure locale.
- 2% say their companies have decided to relocate in the near future because of crime problems.

At first glance, these percentages may not appear to be particularly significant. It must be remembered, however, that if we apply these percentages to the FORTUNE 1000 as a whole, approximately 10 companies may have considered crime an important factor in choosing their current locations, 50 companies may have had serious discussions about relocating due to threat of crime, and 20 companies may have decided to relocate in the near future because of crime problems.

Given that the departure of any FORTUNE 1000 corporation from its current site would cause a substantial disruption in the local business community and economic climate, these figures warrant attention.

Table 6: Corporate Relocation

Has the threat of any of these crimes led to serious discussions about possible relocation of company headquarters to a more secure locale?

	%
Yes	5
No	95
(Number of Respondents)	(313)

Has your company decided to relocate in the near future because of the crime problem?

	%
Yes	2
No	98
(Number of Respondents)	(312)

Were crime considerations an important factor in choosing the present location for your corporate headquarters?

	%
Yes	1
No	99
(Number of Respondents)	(307)

Dimensions of Corporate Security Programs

Corporate Headquarters, Security Hardware and Procedures

As can be seen below, the majority of FORTUNE 1000 corporate headquarters have a vast array of security devices and procedures:

- 88% have building security checks
- 87% have fire alarms
- 84% have automatic sprinkling systems
- 66% have burglar alarms
- 64% have electric floodlighting
- 50% have automatic light timers
- 48% have closed-circuit TV
- 38% have electronic card identification systems
- 30% have photoelectric timers
- 24% have armed guards

Forty percent (40%) have extensive hardware at their headquarters; i.e., they employ at least six of the security devices listed above.

Installation of security equipment appears to reflect a high level of concern throughout the corporate community. Companies headquartered in large cities, for example, are no more likely to have a wide range of hardware devices than those headquartered in small cities or suburban or rural areas. Executive perceptions of increasing crime in the corporate neighborhood and the length of residence of a corporation at its present address have a slight relationship with the extent of corporate hardware.

Table 7: Corporate Security Devices

Has your company installed any of the following precautionary devices at company headquarters:

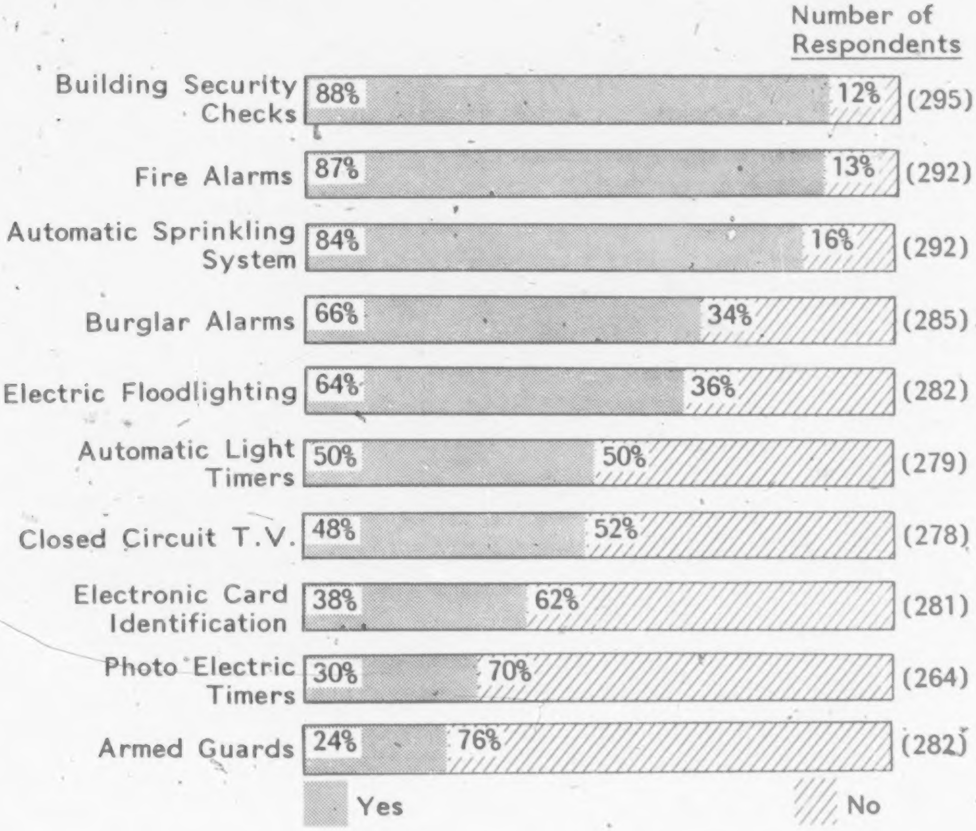


Table 8: Security Hardware Index: Extensiveness of Hardware

Number of Security Measures Taken	%		Extensiveness of Hardware
0	8	60%	Moderate
1	4		
2	8		
3	11		
4	11		
5	18		
6	16	40%	Comprehensive
7	14		
8	10		
(Number of Respondents)	(314)		

*See Methodology for details of index construction.

Table 9: Location and Extensiveness of Hardware

Hardware Extensiveness	Location		
	Large City	Medium-Small City	Suburban-Rural
	%	%	%
Moderate	66	56	55
Comprehensive	34	44	45
(Number of Respondents)	(119)	(96)	(91)
% of Total Sample	39	31	30

Gamma = .15

Table 10: Index of Perceived Increasing Crime in the Corporate Neighborhood and Extensiveness of Hardware

Hardware Extensiveness	Increase in Neighborhood Crime		
	None %	Moderate %	High %
Moderate	65	65	52
Comprehensive	35	35	48
(Number of Respondents)	(113)	(62)	(139)
% of Total Sample	36	20	44

Gamma = .19

Table 11: Number of Years at Current Location and Extensiveness of Hardware

Hardware Extensiveness	Number of Years at Current Location				
	1-5 Years %	6-10 Years %	11-25 Years %	26-50 Years %	Over 50 Years %
Moderate	59	62	67	61	44
Comprehensive	41	38	33	39	56
(Number of Respondents)	(54)	(64)	(73)	(56)	(63)
% of Total Sample	17	21	24	18	20

Gamma = .13

Dimensions of Corporate Security Programs

Overall Corporate Security Programming

The majority of FORTUNE 1000 companies have comprehensive security programs encompassing their entire sphere of operations. Seventy-one percent (71%) of senior executives report that their companies take an overall systematic approach which evaluates the security needs of the corporation as a whole.

- 94% state that one of their main objectives is to try to prevent criminal acts on company premises and against employees
- 73% stress education of employees on security procedures
- 73% stress maintaining a low profile for top executives
- 63% have detailed crisis management plans in case of emergencies
- 62% say that their company's program is coordinated by a security specialist

From these elements of security programming, three were selected to compose an index of program intensity among the sample companies. These elements are: stressing the education of employees on security concerns, detailed crisis management plans, and coordination by a security specialist. Forty-five percent (45%) of the FORTUNE 1000 companies have incorporated at least two of these measures into their program, indicating a rather intensive approach to security concerns.

✓

The larger the company, the more likely it is to have an intensive program. Intensive programs are maintained by:

- 34% of smaller FORTUNE 1000 companies (sales of $300 million or less)
- 40% of medium-sized FORTUNE 1000 companies (sales of $301 million to $999 million)
- 63% of the largest FORTUNE 1000 companies (sales of $1 billion or more)

International ties with countries where executives have been attacked also appear to have a substantial relationship to the intensity of corporate security programming. Forty-three percent (43%) of senior executives say their companies have extensive ties with countries where businessmen have been attacked. Of these executives, more than half (55%) report intensive security programs at their companies, compared with 38% of those whose companies have no such overseas bonds.

The relationship between corporate precautions and a corporation's ties with dangerous countries is something that appears repeatedly in the analysis of The Figgie Report, Part II. In Chapters Two and Three, it will be demonstrated that executives' fear about kidnapping significantly affects security precautions in the corporate world.

Table 12: Comprehensiveness of Security Program

Please indicate which of the following best describe policy guidelines of your security program.

Our security program:

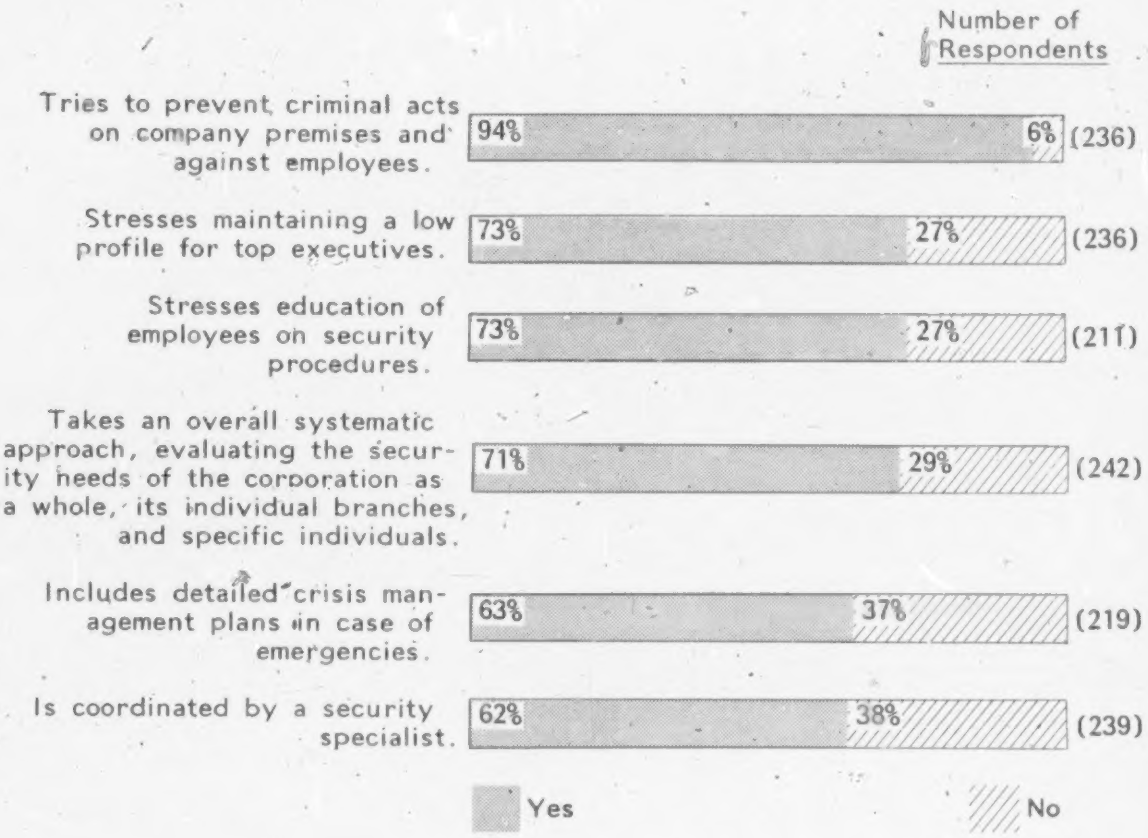


Table 13: Index of Security Program Comprehensiveness: Program Intensity

Number of Components Included in Security Program	Program Intensity		
	%		
0	34	55%	Low
1	21		
2	17	45%	High
3	28		
(Number of Respondents)	(314)		

*See Methodology for details of index construction.

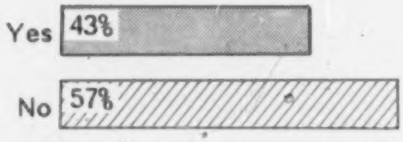
Table 14: Annual Sales and Program Intensity

Program Intensity	Sales		
	$300 million or less	$301 million-$999 million	$1 billion or more
	%	%	%
Low	66	60	37
High	34	40	63
(Number of Respondents)	(101)	(101)	(100)
% of Total Sample	33	33	33

Gamma = .38

Table 15: Business Ties in Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked

Does your corporation have extensive international business ties in countries where executives have been attacked?



(Number of Respondents) (309)

Table 16: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Program Intensity

Program Intensity	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes %	No %
Low	45	62
High	55	38
(Number of Respondents)	(133)	(176)
% of Total Sample	43	57

Gamma = .33

Chapter Two:
Executive Perceptions of Kidnapping and Corporate Security

Executive Perceptions of Kidnapping and Corporate Security

This chapter explores the security consciousness of senior corporate executives. In addition to kidnapping fears, other factors that affect the extent to which executives take precautions are their concerns about arson, their corporation's size and location, and the extensiveness of their company's ties with countries where executives have been attacked.

Kidnapping Concerns

Four out of every ten (39%) FORTUNE 1000 senior executives are fearful that they, their families or their business associates might be kidnapped for political or monetary gain. Twenty-eight percent (28%) express kidnapping concerns for themselves and their families, and 24% for their business associates.

To a great extent, kidnapping is unique unto the corporate executive. No other group of Americans, except perhaps a handful of politicians, need worry that his professional position might endanger himself or his family. As a top representative of a FORTUNE 1000 corporation, a corporation which by definition is vast, influential, and highly visible, an executive may be seen as the personification of his company and its policies. This concern also reflects a strong, diffuse sense of vulnerability. Kidnapping could occur anytime, anywhere, and it represents the possibility of complete helplessness, and of anguish for the executive's family, friends and business associates, to say nothing of the potential loss of the executive's life.

The fact that concern for one's business associates is nearly as great a concern for the executive himself and for his family supports the concept that these fears are strongly rooted in the corporate milieu. This is further supported by the finding that only 10% of surveyed executives are afraid that friends will be kidnapped. It is likely that many of these friends are not part of the corporate world, and, therefore, are not perceived to be subject to a strong threat of abduction.

Kidnapping fears have an extremely strong correlation with corporate security programs. The companies of executives who exhibit fear of kidnapping are much more likely to have an intensive security program than the companies headed by executives who are not concerned about kidnapping.

Among the companies of executives who are concerned about kidnapping, about two-thirds (61%) have intensive security programs, whereas only about one-third (35%) of companies where executives are not concerned about kidnapping have intensive security programs.

It is understandable that those who are more concerned about kidnapping are more likely to create advanced security programs. Intensive programs, however, can actually promote executive awareness of possible threats to corporate and individual safety. Security programs can serve as an effective channel of information, underscoring and reminding executives of the need for security. The presence of a staff security specialist, for example, logically affects executive fears, since a specialist's duties are likely to include active lobbying for imposition of security measures. Furthermore, an active security coordinator increases the likelihood that top executives will be provided with a constant flow of information on security matters and may offer advice on personal security.

Table 17: Kidnapping Concerns

Are you particularly concerned about kidnapping for political or monetary gain of:

	Yes %	No %	Number of Respondents
Yourself	28	72	(300)
Family Members	28	72	(275)
Good Friends	10	90	(267)
Business Associates	24	76	(266)

Table 18: Index of Kidnapping Concerns

Executive kidnapping concerns for themselves, their family or business associates:

	%
Yes	39
No	61
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Table 19: Index of Kidnapping Concerns and Program Intensity

Program Intensity	Kidnapping Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
Low	39	65
High	61	35
(Number of Respondents)	(123)	(191)
% of Total Sample	39	61

Gamma = .49

Overseas Ties

The survey shows that another powerful predictor of executive concern is whether the executive's company has extensive overseas ties with countries where executives have been attacked. Such international ties greatly increase fear among FORTUNE 1000 executives that they, their family or their associates will be kidnapped.

More than half (55%) of executives with firms maintaining business relations in countries where executives have been attacked exhibit kidnapping concerns, compared with only about a quarter (28%) of those executives whose companies do not have such relations.

Overseas ties also relate, though somewhat less strikingly, to arson concerns. Close to half (47%) the executives in firms with ties to countries where executives have been attacked exhibit concern about corporate arson, in contrast with about one third (34%) of executives of companies without such foreign ties.

There are several possible explanations for the relationship between overseas ties and greater security concerns among FORTUNE 1000 executives. One explanation is that such increased concern reflects an unfortunate reality in today's international marketplace. Records do show that business executives - and not diplomats, as sometimes thought - are the most frequent subjects of terrorist attacks. Furthermore, Americans, among all nationalities, are the most frequent victims of terrorist assaults.[1] Recent statistics also show that arson as a terrorist tool is on the rise around the world.[2]

This concern of top executives is understandable since they are called upon to travel to these international "trouble spots." In addition, terrorist attacks in the United States have at times been the work of groups originating in foreign nations, and executives at companies with ties to unstable countries may feel more vulnerable to attack by virtue of these ties even if they do not travel outside the United States.

The greater concern among executives at firms with overseas ties is clearly related to the increasingly global nature of big business. Corporate decisions are based on conditions overseas as well as on those in the United States. Similarly, the executive's perception of himself and his risks are affected by his role in an increasingly international business environment. The overseas operations of multinational corporations serve to extend the top executive's "network" of corporate concerns and to promote awareness of the possibilities of attacks on individuals and corporations. Overseas ties increase the executive's "channels of information." When an executive reads, for example, of an attack on

[1] The New York Times, November 19, 1979, "Ransom Costs Rise for U.S. Business," - Thomas C. Hayes, Page D6.

[2] U.S. News & World Report, June 1, 1980, page 41.

a businessman in a country where the executive's company has operations, it hits home. The report of the attack is not likely to have a marked effect on an executive whose company has no ties with that country or other volatile nations.

Lastly, multinational companies with ties to troubled countries are more likely to have active corporate security programs. The data show that 73% of companies with ties to countries where executives have been attacked have a staff security coordinator, compared with only 53% without such foreign ties. It has already been demonstrated that active security programs are highly correlated with concern.

Table 20: Business Ties with Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Index of Kidnapping Concerns

Kidnapping Concerns	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes	No
	%	%
Yes	55	28
No	45	72
(Number of Respondents)	(133)	(176)
% of Total Sample	43	57

Gamma = .51

Table 21: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Arson Concerns

Arson Concerns	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes	No
	%	%
Yes	47	34
No	53	66
(Number of Respondents)	(131)	(175)
% of Total Sample	43	57

Gamma = .26

Table 22: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Kidnapping Concerns for Business Associates

Kidnapping Concerns for Business Associates	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	39	15
No	61	85
(Number of Respondents)	(108)	(157)
% of Total Sample	41	59

Gamma = .58

Table 23: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Personal Kidnapping Concerns

Personal Kidnapping Concerns	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	42	18
No	58	82
(Number of Respondents)	(126)	(173)
% of Total Sample	42	58

Gamma = .54

7

Table 24: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Kidnapping Concerns for Family Members

Kidnapping Concerns for Family Members	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	45	17
No	55	83
(Number of Respondents)	(112)	(162)
% of Total Sample	41	59

Gamma = .60

Table 25: Business Ties With Countries Where Executives Have Been Attacked and Having a Staff Security Specialist

Having A Staff Security Specialist	Business Ties Abroad	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	73	53
No	27	47
(Number of Respondents)	(104)	(131)
% of Total Sample	44	56

Gamma = .42

Arson Concerns

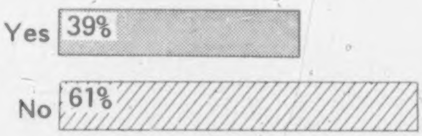
Nearly four out of ten (39%) FORTUNE 1000 executives are concerned about the possibility of arson being committed against their companies. Those who demonstrate a concern about arson are more apt to be security conscious than those who do not. Sixty-one percent (61%) of executives who express a fear of arson have extensive security programs, compared with 35% of those who do not.

Concerns about kidnapping and arson are highly correlated with each other. Twenty-nine percent (29%) of executives who are not fearful about arson are concerned about the possibility that they, their families or business associates will be abducted, compared with 57% of those who are concerned about arson.

Concerns about arson indicate a strong, diffuse sense of corporate vulnerability. Arson could affect any company facility -- an office building, a manufacturing plant or other installation -- and it is a crime which represents the possibility of complete destruction rather than a limited loss associated with such crimes as burglary or vandalism.

Table 26: Concerns for Corporate Safety: Arson Concerns

Are you concerned about the possibility of arson against your company?



(Number of Respondents) (308)

Table 27: Arson Concerns and Program Intensity

Program Intensity	Arson Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
Low	39	65
High	61	35
(Number of Respondents)	(120)	(188)
% of Total Sample	39	61

Gamma = .48

Table 28: Arson Concerns and Index of Kidnapping Concerns

Kidnapping Concerns	Arson Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
Yes	57	29
No	43	71
(Number of Respondents)	(120)	(188)
% of Total Sample	39	61

Gamma .27

Executive Perceptions of Kidnapping and Corporate Security

Size of the Corporation

Executives at the largest corporations among the FORTUNE 1000 tend to be much more concerned about kidnapping than are executives at the smaller companies. Executives of larger companies are only marginally more concerned about the threat of arson, however.

Among executives at companies with sales of one billion dollars or more, 57% exhibit kidnapping concerns, compared with 24% of executives at companies with sales of $300 million or less. Forty-three percent (43%) of executives at larger corporations and 34% of executives at smaller corporations express arson concerns.

Heightened concern among executives at larger companies may arise in part from the more extended network of information which greater size represents. The study shows, for example, that executives working for the larger companies are more likely to know someone who has been a victim of a crime than are executives at smaller companies. Sixty-one percent (61%) of executives at the billion-dollar corporations know someone who has been the victim of assault, robbery or burglary, while 44% of executives at the smaller firms know someone who has been a victim of one of these crimes. This supports the general thesis that multiple channels of information - whether they be personal contacts or knowledge of an extended sphere of corporate activities - enhance executive security concerns.

Table 29: Annual Sales and Index of Kidnapping Concerns

Kidnapping Concerns	Sales		
	$300 million or less %	$301 million-$999 million %	$1 billion or more %
Yes	24	38	57
No	76	62	43
(Number of Respondents)	(101)	(101)	(100)
% of Total Sample	33	33	33

Gamma = .45

Table 30: Annual Sales and Arson Concerns

Arson Concerns	Sales		
	$300 million or less %	$301 million-$999 million %	$1 billion or more %
Yes	36	37	43
No	64	63	57
(Number of Respondents)	(99)	(100)	(99)
% of Total Sample	33	33	33

Gamma = .13

Table 31: Annual Sales and Index of Victimization Experience

Victimization Experience	Sales		
	$300 million or less	$301 million-$999 million	$1 billion or more
	%	%	%
Yes	44	48	61
No	56	52	39
(Number of Respondents)	(101)	(101)	(100)
% of Total Sample	33	33	33

Gamma = .23

*See methodology for frequencies on victimization index.

Location

Kidnapping and arson have already been described as "locationless" in nature, which helps to explain that location of company headquarters - whether in a large city or elsewhere - has no significant impact on the expressed concern of the executives.

Thirty-nine percent (39%) of executives in large cities express kidnapping concerns, as do 40% of executives in small cities, as well as in suburban or rural areas. This is true even though, as shown in Chapter One, executives working in large cities are more likely to perceive the neighborhood surrounding their corporate headquarters as deteriorating.

The fact that executives of companies located in large cities are just as fearful about kidnapping and arson as those in smaller locales supports the thesis that today's corporate "neighborhood" is not merely the locale of corporate headquarters; rather, it extends to encompass the entirety of corporate ties around the world.

Table 32: Location and Index of Kidnapping Concerns

Kidnapping Concerns	Location		
	Large City %	Medium-Small City %	Suburban-Rural %
Yes	39	40	40
No	61	60	60
(Number of Respondents)	(119)	(96)	(91)
% of Total Sample	39	31	30

Gamma = .01

Chapter Three:
Executive Precautions

Executive Precautions

This chapter explores the types of security measures top executives are taking and provides an explanatory context for these measures.

Selecting Executive Precautions

Part One of The Figgie Report On Fear Of Crime investigated a wide range of protective measures employed by individuals both outside and inside the home.

The report found that Americans are extremely cautious and security-minded, and that they take a number of precautions as a matter of course in their daily lives. The survey revealed, for example, that to protect their homes a sweeping majority - nearly nine out of ten - always lock their doors and always identify people before letting them in. When pursuing activities outside the home, seven out of ten people lock their car doors while driving to keep intruders out, and six out of ten dress plainly in order to avoid drawing attention to themselves.

In the questionnaire for The Figgie Report, Part Two executives were asked about security measures which are more sophisticated and more in the province of the corporate milieu than the routine precautions explored in the survey of the public at large. The measures examined in the present study were selected to reflect the particular situation of the senior executive in terms of his position, means, and lifestyle. The selection also emphasized discretionary precautions rather than measures that are more likely to be a part of corporate policy such as office security procedures.

The questionnaire investigated executive precautions at three points of vulnerability: in the home, en route between home and office, and while traveling. In each of these three categories, three representative precautions have been selected from a more extensive list used in the questionnaire. (See methodology for further details.)

Residential Precautions

The survey finds that executives are more likely to take precautions in their homes than they are en route to and from work or while traveling. Sixty percent (60%) of the executives take at least one of the studied residential precautions.

- 53% of top executives secure their homes with burglar and fire alarms and other safety features
- 28% have unlisted telephone numbers
- 26% attempt to keep the location of their residence confidential

Precautions While Away From Home

While away from home, 42% of executives take at least one of the representative precautions. The data show that:

- 27% thoroughly inspect their hotel rooms for hidden intruders
- 26% prefer a computer card entry system rather than a room key
- 18% leave their TV set on while absent from their rooms

Executive Precautions

Precautions En Route To And From Work

Thirty-eight percent (38%) of FORTUNE 1000 senior executives take at least one of the representative "en route" precautions:

- 35% vary their daily route to work
- 19% alternate cars instead of always using the same car
- 15% avoid using public transportation for safety reasons

Table 33: Residential Precautions

Do you personally take any of the following precautions in your everyday life?

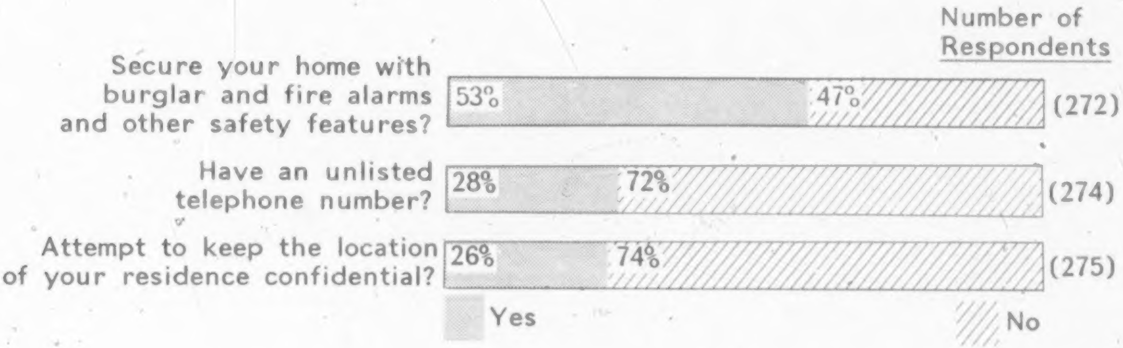


Table 34: Index of Residential Precautions

Number of Precautions Taken	%
0	40
1	33
2	12
3	15
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Table 35: Precautions Taken While Away From Home

Do you personally take any of the following precautions when traveling?

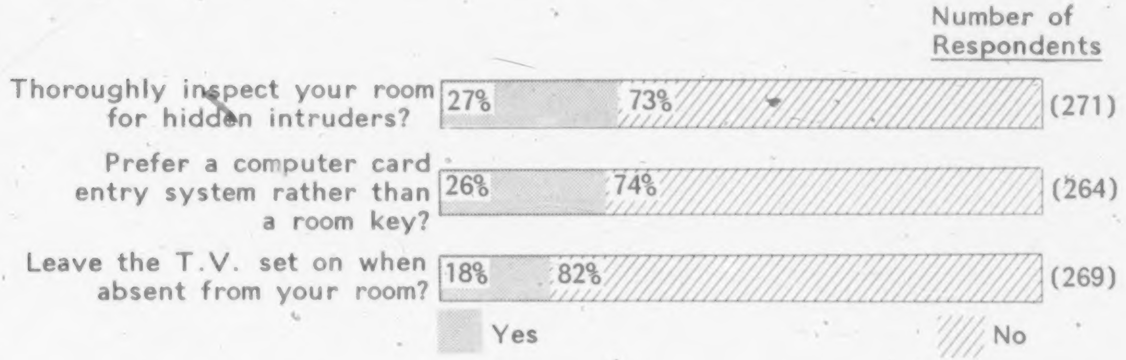


Table 36: Index of Precautions Taken While Away From Home

Number of Precautions Taken	%
0	58
1	26
2	12
3	4
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Table 37: Precautions En Route To and From Work

Do you personally take any of the following precautions in your everyday life?

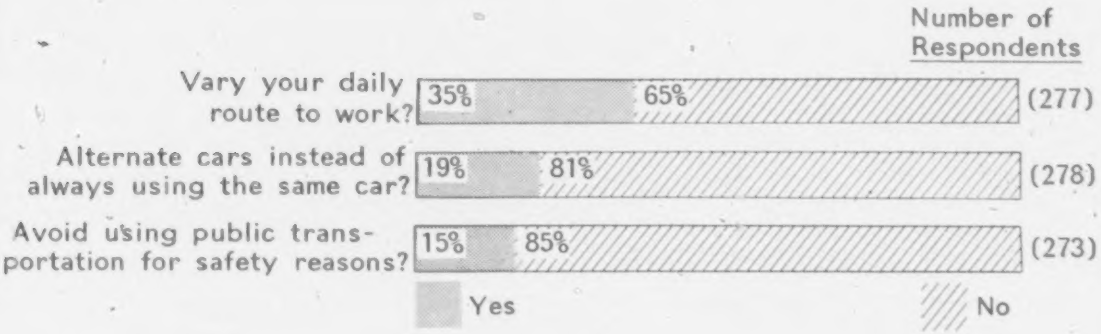


Table 38: Index of En Route Precautions

Number of Precautions Taken	%
0	62
1	19
2	13
3	6
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Executive Precautions

Explaining Executive Precautions

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, kidnapping concerns significantly affect the security consciousness of top corporate executives. This is also true for residential precautions. Executives who express kidnapping concerns are significantly more likely to take one or more home-related precautions than are executives not expressing such concerns (76% vs. 49%).

Kidnapping concerns are also strongly linked to "en route" precautions. Fifty-eight percent (58%) of executives who are fearful of kidnapping take one or more of the "en route" precautions, compared with 25% of those who are not fearful. The data also demonstrate an extremely high correlation between kidnapping concerns and the selected "away from home" measures. Fifty-three percent (53%) of executives who are fearful of kidnapping take at least one of these precautions, compared with 35% of those who are not fearful.

The data also suggest that executives of large corporations feel far more visible than other executives might, and take precautions to diminish this visibility. The survey shows, for example, that 82% of executives in companies with over $1 billion in sales take precautions in their everyday life, compared to 68% of those in smaller companies.

Precaution-taking also appears, as do kidnapping and arson concerns, to be "locationless" in nature. This reflects a perception by the executive that he is acting in an expansive, national or international area, rather than a localized one. This concept is supported by the finding that urban settings have a minimal affect on precaution-taking.

One would not expect corporate location to affect residential or "away from home" precautions, but having one's corporate headquarters in a large city *would* logically affect precaution-taking en route to and from the office. Table 43 demonstrates, however, that location has *no* impact on the taking of "en route" precautions.

It would be anticipated that a perception that crime was increasing in the neighborhood surrounding corporate headquarters would increase "en route" precaution-taking. The study finds, however, that such a perception of increasing crime has only a marginal impact on "en route" precautions.

The survey also reveals that executive precaution-taking is minimally related to knowing a crime victim. This presents a notable contrast to the findings of Part I of *The Figgie Report* which showed that people who know victims are more likely to take precautions than those who do not.

The "locationless" nature of executive precaution-taking, along with the lack of influence of knowing a victim of a crime, suggests that in taking precautions, senior executives are indeed responding to the unique demands of their lifestyle in the corporate milieu, with its national or multinational network of concerns.

Table 39: Index of Kidnapping Concerns and Index of Residential Precautions

Residential Precautions	Kidnapping Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
None	24	51
One or more	76	49
(Number of Respondents)	123	191
% of Total Sample	39	61

Gamma = .45

Table 40: Index of Kidnapping Concerns and Index of En Route Precautions

"En Route" Precautions	Kidnapping Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
None	42	75
One or more	58	25
(Number of Respondents)	(191)	(123)
% of Total Sample	61	39

Gamma = .55

Table 41: Index of Kidnapping Concerns and Index of Precautions Taken While Away From Home

"Away From Home" Precautions	Kidnapping Concerns	
	Yes %	No %
None	47	65
One or more	53	35
(Number of Respondents)	(123)	(191)
% of Total Sample	39	61

Gamma = .37

Table 42: Annual Sales and Index of Overall Precautions*

Overall Precautions	Sales		
	$300 million or less %	$301 million - $999 million %	$1 billion or more %
None	32	35	18
One or more	68	65	82
(Number of Respondents)	(101)	(101)	(100)
% of Total Sample	33	33	33

Gamma = .28

*See methodogy for frequencies on the Overall Precautions Index.

Table 43: Location and Index of En Route Precautions

"En Route" Precautions	Location Large City %	 Medium-Small City %	 Suburban-Rural %
None	61	63	65
One or more	39	37	35
(Number of Respondents)	(119)	(96)	(91)
% of Total Sample	39	31	30

Gamma = .08

Table 44: Perceived Increasing Crime in the Corporate Neighborhood and Index of En Route Precautions

"En Route" Precautions	Threat of Neighborhood Crime None %	 Low %	 High %
None	88	78	78
One or more	12	22	22
(Number of Respondents)	(113)	(107)	(94)
% of Total Sample	36	34	30

Gamma = .25

Table 45: Index of Victimization Experience and Index of Overall Precautions

Overall Precautions	Victimization Experience	
	Yes	No
	%	%
None	24	36
One or more	76	64
(Number of Respondents)	(158)	(156)
% of Total Sample	50	50

Gamma = .18

Chapter Four:
Executive Viewpoints on the Criminal Justice System

Executive Viewpoints on the Criminal Justice System

In examining attitudes toward the criminal justice system, Part One of The Figgie Report found that the public overwhelmingly endorses severe penalties for lawbreakers. The report also revealed that the public has strikingly little faith in the efficacy of the criminal justice system as a whole. This chapter looks at executive viewpoints on these topics and compares them with those of the general public.

Support For Law Enforcement Measures

The sentiments of FORTUNE 1000 senior executives parallel those of the general public, although the executives are even more adamant in their opinions.

- 97% of executives favor long prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes, compared with 86% of the general public
- 96% of executives favor mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes, compared with 89% of the general public
- 92% favor the death penalty for persons convicted of murder, compared with 66% of the general public
- 88% favor giving the police more power to question people, compared with 63% of the general public
- 76% favor wiretapping, compared with 21% of the general public
- 66% favor probation for first offenders at the discretion of the court, compared with 72% of the general public
- 46% favor sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane, compared with 45% of the general public

Top executives also believe more strongly than the public that punitive measures are an effective means of dealing with crime problems. Seventy-nine percent (79%) of executives feel, for example, that prison sentences discourage crime, compared with only 48% of the general public. Furthermore, 84% of executives believe that the death penalty discourages murder, compared with 66% of the public.

Not only are top corporate executives particularly adamant about the implementation of strong law-enforcement measures, they are also somewhat less confident in the criminal justice system than the general public. Virtually all (99%) of the executives say prisons are not particularly effective in rehabilitating criminals and helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens; 80% of the American public feel that prisons are ineffective.* This should not be taken to mean that executives do not believe in the concept of rehabilitation. They do. When asked what they feel the main emphasis of prisons should be, 58% of the respondents say that the emphasis should be on rehabilitation. A minority feel the emphasis should be on the protection of society (20%) or on punishment (22%). Executives are virtually unanimous (97%) in their belief that the courts are not too harsh, compared with 95% of the public.

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*The Figgie Report, Part I, page 126.

Table 46: Attitudes Toward Criminal Justice System

	Senior Executives Of FORTUNE 1000 Companies %	General Public %
Do you favor or oppose long prison sentences for people found guilty of violent crimes?		
Favor	97	86
Oppose	3	8
Don't Know	-	6
Do you favor or oppose mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes?		
Favor	96	89
Oppose	4	7
Don't Know	-	4
Do you favor or oppose the death penalty for persons convicted of murder?		
Favor	92	66
Oppose	8	26
Don't Know	-	8
Do you favor or oppose giving the police more power to question people?		
Favor	88	63
Oppose	12	33
Don't Know	-	4
Do you favor or oppose wiretapping?		
Favor	76	21
Oppose	24	79
Don't Know	-	-

Executive Viewpoints on the Criminal Justice System

	Senior Executives Of FORTUNE 1000 Companies %	General Public %
Do you favor or oppose probation for first offenders at the discretion of the court?		
Favor	66	72
Oppose	34	28
Don't Know	-	-
Do you favor or oppose sterilization of habitual criminals and the hopelessly insane?		
Favor	46	45
Oppose	54	43
Don't Know	-	12
Do you think prison sentences discourage crime?		
Yes	79	48
No	14	52
Don't Know	7	-
Do you think the death penalty discourages murder?		
Yes	84	66
No	10	34
Don't Know	6	-
Are the courts in your area too harsh?		
Yes	0	3
No	97	95
Don't Know	3	2

Executive Viewpoints on the Criminal Justice System

Why Executives Support Strong Law-Enforcement Measures

In investigating the sources of support for strong law-enforcement measures among executives, our analysis weighed the impact of kidnapping and arson concerns, whether the executive knew family, friends or business associates who had been victims of crimes, whether the executive worked in a metropolitan or nonmetropolitan area, and whether the executive perceived an increase in crime in the neighborhood surrounding his corporate headquarters.

Our analysis shows that these factors do not have a significant influence on support or nonsupport of strong law enforcement measures. Similarly, public support for punitive measures and lack of confidence in the criminal justice system were discovered in the first Figgie Report to be pervasive, cutting across boundaries of income, education and employment status. Executives are particularly punitive, however, and their thoughts on the main causes of violent crime in America today shed some light on their attitudes toward law enforcement measures.

Over half (55%) of FORTUNE 1000 top executives feel that the main cause of violent crime in America today is the breakdown of traditional values and family structure. Thirty-eight percent (38%) blame it on leniency of the courts, and 30% on economic factors - unemployment, poverty, etc.*

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* The total of responses exceeds 100% because some executives checked more than one cause.

These findings indicate that only a minority of executives feel that crime is caused primarily by economic ills. Individuals who believe that these economic ills are to blame would, logically, believe that there is an economic cure - that is, the creation of more jobs, and more social programs to alleviate the frustrations that motivate a person to turn to crime.

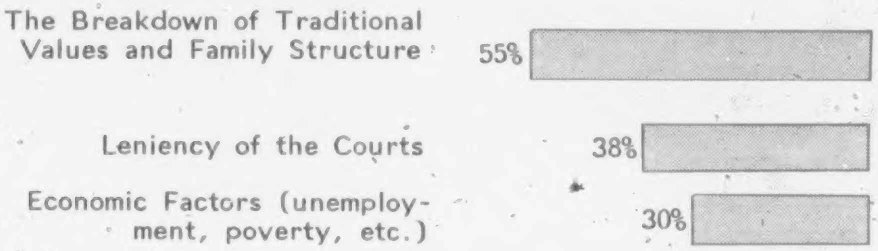
The majority of executives, however, tend to believe that crime arises from the collapse of values and family structure. Since these complex social ills do not easily lend themselves to economic or governmental solutions, the executives opt for strict law-enforcement measures as a deterrent. The fact that 38% of top executives believe that the main cause of violent crime is the leniency of the courts is a reflection of this belief that strict deterrent measures are the most realistic solutions to rising crime.

As stated earlier, however, executives do support prison rehabilitation efforts. A majority of executives feel that the main emphasis of prison should be the rehabilitation of the criminal rather than merely the protection of society or the punishment of inmates. This is the case even though 99% of executives feel that prisons are not currently particularly effective in rehabilitating criminals and helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens.

All of this suggests that most executives ideally support curative, rather than punitive efforts. They do not, however, seem to believe that existing cures can be successful.

Table 47: Perceived Causes of Violent Crime

What is the main cause of violent crime in America today?*

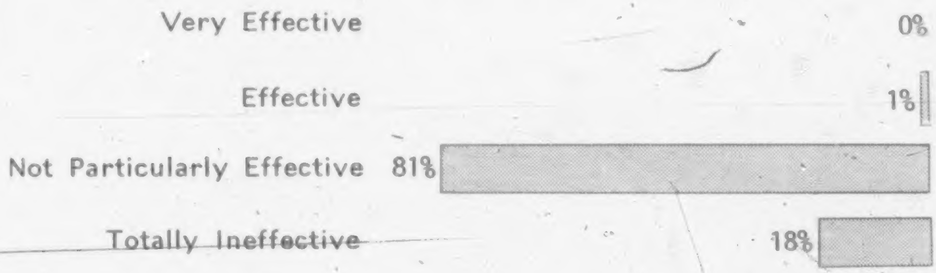


(Number of Respondents) (306)

*The total of responses exceeds 100% since some executives checked more than one cause.

Table 48: Perceived Effectiveness of Prisons

How successful are most prisons in rehabilitating criminals and helping them to return to society as law-abiding citizens?



(Number of Respondents) (312)

Table 49: Emphasis of Prisons

What do you think the main emphasis is in most prisons today and what do you think the main emphasis should be?

	Emphasis is	Emphasis should be
	%	%
Rehabilitation	44	58
Protection of Society	31	20
Punishment	25	22
(Number of Respondents)	(162)	(138)

Methodology

Methodology

Questionnaire Construction and Data Collection

A draft questionnaire was designed based on a series of in-depth interviews with executives at forty FORTUNE 1000 companies. The questionnaire was pretested and reviewed by several private security consultants in the business community.

In the spring of 1980 the questionnaire was sent to senior executives at FORTUNE 1000 companies. Two weeks after the first mailing, a second copy of the questionnaire was sent out. Our initial response rate was 21% and follow-up telephone calls increased the response rate to 30%.

The overall sales distribution of our sample approximated the sales distribution of FORTUNE 1000 companies. It was, therefore, not necessary to weight the data.

Data Analysis

All data, along with a numerical code for each person, were entered on 80-column punch cards. The cards were punched as data were collected and then entered onto a disc file of the Citishare Corporation DEC-20 computer. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) data base system was used to store value and variable labels as well as data for each case.

Descriptive statistics were collected for the sample. Analysis was carried out based on the construction of two-way and three-way contingency tables, controlling for key variables. This enabled us to uncover relationships masked by the presence of a third variable.

Whenever possible -- i.e., when data were of the interval or ratio level, or dichotomized -- multivariate regression analysis, partial correlation analysis, and factor analysis procedures were undertaken to explore the dynamic interaction between sets of variables.

All data were transcribed to magnetic tape. A clearly written code book was created with the tape.

Construction of Composite Measures

To ensure a more valid measurement, composite variables, including Guttman Scaling, were constructed to measure attitudinal as well as behaviorial response patterns. The use of composite measures is particularly useful for three reasons: 1) to minimize bias which may be found in responses to individual items, 2) to provide a broad range of variation with varying levels of intensity, and 3) to provide a valuable technique for data reduction.

Methodology

Security Program Index Construction*

Items in the index: Company Security Program:

V23	Stresses education of employees on security procedures
V25	Includes detailed crisis management
V26	Is coordinated by a security specialist

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V23	V25	V26
V23		.67	.82
V25			.86
V26			
Scale-item:	.62	.67	.78

*Several items were not included in the Security Program Index. These items did not have a strong enough correlation with other items included in the index or a strong scale-item correlation score.

Kidnapping Index Construction

Items in the index: Concern about kidnapping for political or monetary gain of:

V68	Yourself
V69	Family members
V71	Business associates

Matrix of correlation coefficient:

	V68	V69	V71
V68		.96	.73
V69			.83
V71			
Scale-Item:	.88	.99	.64

Guttman scale statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility	.90
Coefficient of scalability	.58

Increasing Neighborhood Crime Index Construction*

Items in the index: In the past five years, do you feel that the incidence of any of the following crimes has increased in the neighborhood where your corporate headquarters is located?

V7	Assault
V8	Burglary
V10	Homicide
V11	Kidnapping
V12	Robbery
V13	Sexual assault

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V7	V8	V10	V11	V12	V13
V7		.71	.84	.86	.85	.78
V8			.63	.74	.87	.59
V10				.89	.86	.94
V11					1.0	.89
V12						.82
Scale-Item	.78	.58	.87	.77	.82	.79

Guttman scale statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility	.91
Coefficient of scalability	.68

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* Concern about car theft and concern about arson were not included in the Increasing Neighborhood Crime Index. These two items did not have a strong enough correlation with other items included in the index or a strong scale-item correlation score.

Methodology

Security Hardware Index Construction*

Items in the index:

V28	Automatic light timers
V29	Automatic sprinkling systems
V30	Building security checks
V31	Burglar alarms
V32	Closed-circuit TV
V33	Electric floodlighting
V35	Fire alarms
V36	Photoelectric timers

Matrix of correlation coefficient

	V28	V29	V30	V31	V32	V33	V35	V36
V28		.65	.83	.61	.51	.56	.69	.71
V29			.80	.57	.61	.71	.81	.75
V30				.48	.88	.75	.79	.51
V31					.56	.47	.74	.69
V32						.59	.72	.62
V33							.47	.78
V35								.37
V36								
Scale-item:	.60	.68	.69	.56	.57	.60	.64	.59

Guttman Scale statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility	.84
Coefficient of scalability	.46

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* Having armed guards and an electronic card identitication system were not included in the Security Hardware Index. These two items did not have a strong enough correlation with other items included in the index or a strong scale-item correlation score.

Methodology

Victimization Index Construction

Items in the index: Have you, a family member, or business associate ever been a victim of any of these violent crimes during the past two years?

V53	Robbery
V58	Burglary
V63	Assault

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V53	V58	V63
V53		.96	.95
V58			.94
V63			
Scale-item	.99	.92	.93

Guttman scale statistics:

Coefficient of reproducibility	.95
Coefficient of scalability	.86

Victimization Index Frequencies

Yes	48%
No	52%
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Precautions Taken While Away From Home Index Construction*

Items in the index:	Do you personally take any of the following precautions when traveling?
V49	thoroughly inspect your room for hidden intruders?
V51	leave the T.V. set on when absent from the room?
V52	prefer a computer card entry system rather than a room key?

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V49	V51	V52
V49		.42	.42
V51			.44
V52			
Scale Item:	.31	.32	.32

* Several items in this index were not included because they did not have a strong enough correlation with other items in the index or a strong scale-item correlation score.

Precautions Taken "En Route" To and From Work Index Construction

Items in the index:	Do you personally take any of the following precautions in your everyday life:
V37	vary your daily route to work?
V38	alternate cars instead of always using the same car?
V40	avoiding using public transportation for safety reasons?

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V37	V38	V40
V37		.81	.77
V38			.73
V40			
Scale Item:	.63	.67	.61

Residential Precautions Index Construction

Items in the index:

Do you personally take any of the following precautions in your everyday life:

V39	have an unlisted telephone number?
V43	secure your home with burglar and fire alarms and other safety features?
V44	Attempt to keep the location of your residence confidential?

Matrix of correlation coefficients:

	V39	V43	V44
V39		.59	.85
V43			.74
V44			
Scale item:	.63	.44	.73

Overall Precautions Index Construction

Items in the index:

V37	vary your daily route to work
V38	alternate cars
V39	having an unlisted telephone number
V40	avoid using public transportation for safety reasons
V43	secure your home with burglar and fire alarms and other safety features
V44	attempt to keep the location of your residence confidential
V46	employ a driver skilled in evasive driving tactics
V49	thoroughly inspect your room for hidden intruders
V51	leave the T.V. set on when absent from your room

	V37	V38	V39	V40	V43	V44	V46	V49	V51
V37		.82	.68	.77	.56	.65	.78	.52	.23
V38			.58	.74	.64	.54	.58	.44	.49
V39				.74	.64	.86	.63	.46	.52
V40					.82	.76	.57	.70	.56
V43						.75	.67	.34	.23
V44							.62	.47	.31
V46								.42	.03
V49									.46
V51									
Scale item:	.63	.71	.62	.77	.47	.68	.55	.50	.38

*Only those items which correlated highly with each other were included in the overall precautions index.

Methodology

Index of Overall Precautions - Frequencies

Number of Precautions Taken	%
0	30
1	17
2	18
3	12
4	8
5	6
6	3
7	4
8	1
9	1
(Number of Respondents)	(314)

Selection of Predictive Clusters:

Results of Factor Analysis:

Varimax rotated factor matrix:

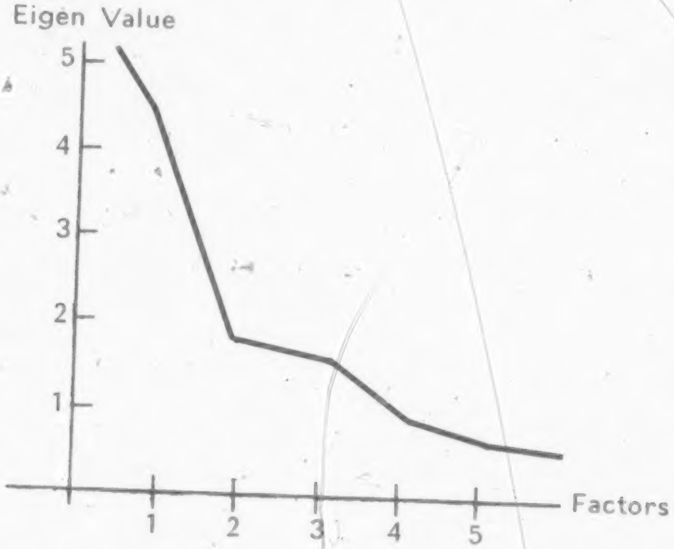
	Factor 1	Factor 2	Factor 3	Factor 4	Factor 5
V6	.07	.49	-.29	.06	.17
V7	.18	.56	-.02	.42	.16
V8	.09	.16	-.04	.71	.02
V9	.06	.32	.06	.56	-.07
V10	.29	.70	-.01	.25	-.09
V11	-.06	.51	-.02	.13	.20
V12	.13	.32	-.04	.78	.03
V13	.24	.77	.04	.33	-.10
V19	.19	.02	-.11	.36	.47
V53	-.01	-.07	.79	-.02	-.03
V63	-.10	-.03	.78	.01	.06
V68	.70	.23	.20	.15	-.05
V69	.73	.15	.02	.07	.13
V70	.79	-.09	-.08	.14	.00
V71	.72	.05	-.10	.05	.15
V72	.36	.18	-.14	-.03	.07
V73	.22	.10	.17	.17	.31
V74	-.04	.06	-.18	.04	.29
V119	-.13	-.05	-.02	.08	-.78

Factor	% of Variance	Eigen Value
1	46	4.4
2	19	1.8
3	16	1.5
4	11	1.0
5	8	.7

Predictive Clusters:

Factor 1	Kidnapping concerns
Factor 2	Perceived increase in neighborhood crime
Factor 3	Victimization
Factor 4	Burglary-robbery
Factor 5	Company size

Scree Test:



Questionnaire

Crime in Neighborhood

1. In the past five years do you feel that the incidence of any of the following crimes has increased in the neighborhood where your corporate headquarters is located?

	Yes	No	Don't know
Arson	( )	( )	( )
Assault	( )	( )	( )
Burglary	( )	( )	( )
Car theft	( )	( )	( )
Homicide	( )	( )	( )
Kidnapping	( )	( )	( )
Robbery	( )	( )	( )
Sexual Assault	( )	( )	( )

Company Relocation

2. Has the threat of any of these crimes led to serious discussions about possible relocation of company headquarters to a more secure locale?

Yes ( ) No ( )

3. Has your company decided to relocate in the near future because of the crime problem?

Yes ( ) No ( )

4. Were crime considerations an important factor in choosing the present location for your corporate headquarters?

Yes ( ) No ( )

5. How long has your company been located at your present address?

For ________________ years.

Company Security

6. Has the threat of crime in the neighborhood of your headquarters affected company security policy?

Yes ( ) No ( )

Questionnaire

7. Please indicate which of the following best describes policy guidelines of your security program.

Our security program:	Yes	No
is minimal. The threat of crime does not warrant a security program at this time	☐	☐
stresses maintaining a low profile for top executives	☐	☐
tries to prevent criminal acts on company premises and against employees	☐	☐
stresses education of employees on security	☐	☐
takes an overall systematic approach which evaluates the security needs of the corporation as a whole, the needs of the individual branches and of specific individuals	☐	☐
includes detailed crisis management plans in case of emergencies	☐	☐
is coordinated by a security specialist	☐	☐

Hardware Safety Measure

8. Has your company installed any of the following precautionary devices at company headquarters:

	Yes	No
Armed guards	☐	☐
Automatic light timers	☐	☐
Automatic sprinkling system	☐	☐
Building security checks	☐	☐
Burglar alarms	☐	☐
Closed circuit T.V.	☐	☐
Electric floodlighting	☐	☐
Electronic card identification	☐	☐
Fire alarms	☐	☐
Photo electric timers	☐	☐

Taking Precautions

9. Do you personally take any of the following precautions in your everyday life?

Do you:	Yes	No
vary your daily route to work?	( )	( )
alternate cars instead of always using the same car?	( )	( )
have an unlisted telephone number?	( )	( )
avoid using public transportation for safety reasons?	( )	( )
avoid being out in public where you are readily identifiable?	( )	( )
separate your credit cards from your wallet?	( )	( )
secure your home with burglar and fire alarms and other safety features?	( )	( )
attempt to keep the location of your residence confidential?	( )	( )
have a personal body guard?	( )	( )

10. Do you personally take any of the following precautions when traveling?

Do you:	Yes	No
employ a driver skilled in evasive driving tactics?	( )	( )
employ an armed driver?	( )	( )
never go into your hotel room without an escort?	( )	( )
thoroughly inspect your room for hidden intruders?	( )	( )
always double-lock your door	( )	( )
leave the T.V. set on when absent from your room?	( )	( )
prefer a computer card entry system rather than a room key?	( )	( )

Questionnaire

Concern About Victimization

11. Have you, a family member, a good friend, or a business associate ever been a victim of any of these violent crimes during the past two years? Check all that apply:

	No Victimization	Yourself	Family Member	Friend	Business Associate
Robbery	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Burglary	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )
Assault	( )	( )	( )	( )	( )

12. Are you particulary concerned about kidnapping for political or monetary gain of:

	Yes	No
Yourself	( )	( )
Family members	( )	( )
Good friends	( )	( )
Business associates	( )	( )

13. Are you concerned about the possibility of arson against your company?

Yes ( ) No ( )

14. Does your corporation have extensive international business ties in countries where executives have been attacked?

Yes ( ) No ( )

15. In what type of neighborhood is your company headquarters located?

Large city, central district	( )
Large city, outlying district	( )
Medium sized city	( )
Small city	( )
Suburban	( )
Rural	( )

Demographics

16. What are your company's primary areas of business: (Check all that apply.)

Aerospace ( )
Agriculture/food/tobacco ( )
Consumer goods ( )
Electronics/measuring and scientific equipment ( )
Metal manufacturing/metal products ( )
Mining/petroleum/chemicals ( )
Motor vehicles ( )
Multinational manufacturing ( )
Office, industrial and farm equipment ( )
Pharmaceuticals ( )
Publishing/printing/broadcasting/motion picture production ( )
Transportation/communication ( )
Wood fiber/textiles/plastic/glass products/ rubber paper/fiber wood ( )
Other ______________________________

17. What are your company's annual sales?

$100 million or less ( )
$101 million to $200 million ( )
$201 million to $300 million ( )
$301 million to $500 million ( )
$501 million to $700 million ( )
$701 million to $999 million ( )
$1 billion to $50 billion ( )
Over $50 billion ( )

18. What is the number of employees at corporate headquarters? (Estimate if not sure.)

Under 50 ( )
51 to 100 ( )
101 to 200 ( )
201 to 500 ( )
501 to 1,000 ( )
1,001 to 2,000 ( )
2,001 to 3,000 ( )
3,001 to 4,000 ( )
More than 4,000 ( )

Topical Opinions

19. Do you think the death penalty discourages murder?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

20. Do you think prison sentences discourage crime?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

21. Are the courts in your area too harsh?

Yes ( ) No ( ) Don't know ( )

22. What do you think the main emphasis is in most prisons today and what do you think the main emphasis should be?

	Emphasis is	Emphasis should be
Rehabilitation	( )	( )
Protection	( )	( )
Punishment	( )	( )

23. How successful are most prisons in rehabilitating criminals and helping them return to society as law-abiding citizens?

Very effective ( )
Effective ( )
Not particularly effective ( )
Totally ineffective ( )

24. What is the main cause of violent crime in America today?

the need for money ( )
unemployment ( )
poverty (slums) ( )
leniency of courts (too easy on offenders, permissive laws) ( )
breakdown of traditional values (disregard of human life) ( )
the family (lack of parental supervision) ( )
TV (media coverage of crime) ( )
racial tensions ( )
Other (write in): ____________________

25. Do you favor or oppose the following policies?

	Strongly favor	Favor with reservations	Oppose with reservations	Strongly oppose
the death penalty for persons convicted of murder	( )	( )	( )	( )
a law requiring a person to obtain a police permit before buying a handgun	( )	( )	( )	( )
giving the police more power to question people	( )	( )	( )	( )
wiretapping	( )	( )	( )	( )
mandatory prison sentences for people convicted of violent crimes	( )	( )	( )	( )
probation for first offenders at the discretion of the court	( )	( )	( )	( )
long prison sentences for people found guilty of violent crimes	( )	( )	( )	( )
sterilization of habitual criminals and hopelessly insane	( )	( )	( )	( )

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THE FIGGIE REPORT ON FEAR OF CRIME PART III:

A FOURTEEN-CITY PROFILE

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Conducted by Research & Forecasts, Inc.

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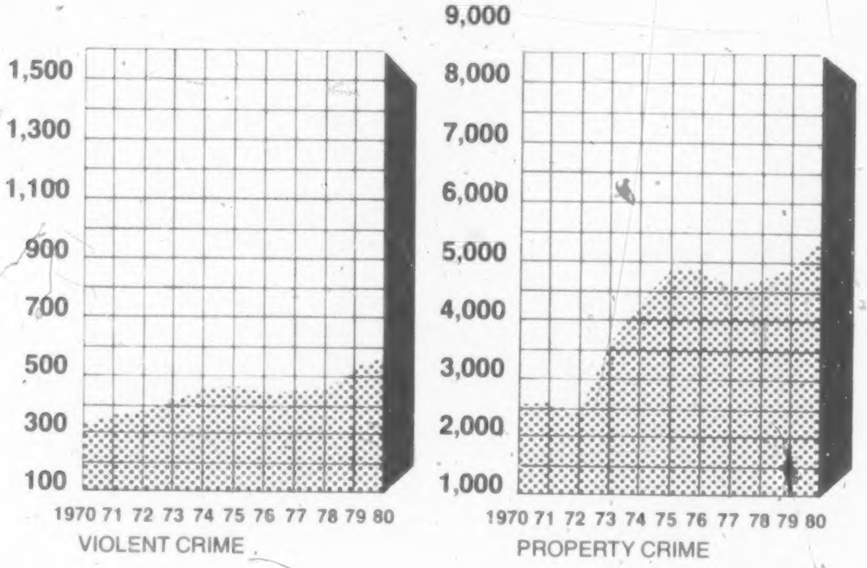


Reported incidents per 100,000 population

U.S. Crime Rate

All data in these charts were compiled from figures supplied by the FBI in their annual "Uniform Crime Reports." In all cases the figures refer to the Standard Metropolitan Statistical Area. See Appendix for details.

INTRODUCTION

THE FIGGIE REPORTS

For this report, a series of articles exploring the problem of crime and fear of crime in urban America were prepared by major publications in thirteen cities across the country.* Based on a common framework established by Research & Forecasts, Inc., the features constitute an anthology of studies viewed from the perspective of community leaders. Out of these studies, a number of common themes emerged.

This third segment of a national crime survey called The Figgie Report On Fear of Crime is designed to complete the exploratory phase of a massive research project conceived and conducted by Research & Forecasts, Inc. Part I, America Afraid, issued in September, 1980, probed the public's attitudes toward crime concerns; Part II, The Corporate Response to Fear of Crime, published in February, 1981, focused on FORTUNE 1000 senior executives; and now, Part III, A Fourteen-City Profile, explores the attitudes of those in a position to affect policy change.

The report has been sponsored by Figgie International (formerly A-T-O Inc.), a diversified multinational corporation serving consumer, industrial and service markets, as a public service project in the belief that education is the first step toward change. It is the corporation's hope that by illustrating the variety of problems facing major American urban centers, the public and policymakers will be stirred to formulate solutions to the mounting crime crisis.

In preparing the groundwork for Part III of the report, Research & Forecasts conducted approximately 100 preliminary interviews of influential community leaders in major cities around the country. The respondents included mayors, judges, district attorneys, police chiefs and others who influence the policies of their cities. On the basis of these interviews, Research & Forecasts developed a uniform set of questions, used for comparative purposes by all participating publications, about the effects of fear of crime and policies to combat both crime itself and the fear it generates.

* A fourteenth newspaper, the Chicago Sun Times, prepared a special report on the Guardian Angels.

Introduction

To assist the publications working on the project, The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime Parts I and II were provided as background, as was available demographic information unique to the collaborating city. Each publication then assigned a journalist, or in some cases a team of journalists, to interview a number of community leaders in their city so that a local perspective on fear of crime could be developed.

Whereas Parts I and II of The Figgie Report were based on scientific statistical samples, Part III has been based on qualitative, in-depth interviews conducted by local investigative reporters. These journalists have brought a personal insight to the profiles of their own cities which could never have been duplicated by outsiders.

In addition to being included with Parts I and II in major libraries and research centers nationwide, all three sections will form the foundation of a book to be published by the New American Library in the Fall of 1982.

The following publications have joined in this project:

Arizona Republic
Chicago Sun-Times
Cleveland Plain Dealer
Dallas Morning News
Denver Post
Detroit News
Los Angeles Magazine
Memphis Press Scimitar
Miami News
Milwaukee Journal
Minneapolis Star
Richmond Times-Dispatch
Seattle Times
St. Louis Globe-Democrat

The Figgie Report Part III is a unique collaborative effort involving a prominent group of publications and researchers who have pooled their knowledge and expertise to analyze one of the most important social issues of our time that threatens to destroy the fabric of the American way of life. The following analysis summarizes the impressions and recommendations of officials interviewed in each city.

POLICY AND PERCEPTION SHIFTS

Virtually all of the community leaders participating in the Figgie study agree that their city has suffered from a marked increase in public fear of crime. Although opinions differ about the causes of crime and about the appropriate approaches to reducing crime, most community leaders share some basic philosophical understanding about major shifts in policy and perception toward the causes and combatting of crime. Two basic trends evolved which quite clearly reversed the direction of the past two decades: loss of confidence in government and an increasing concern with punishment as opposed to rehabiliation.

○ Loss of Confidence in Government

The multi-city profile makes it clear that confidence in the ability of government to protect lives and property has diminished severely in the past twenty years. Dependence on government has been replaced by various methods of self-reliance, from fortressing to neighborhood crime watch programs to private gun ownership.

Community leaders report that citizens have expressed displeasure with crime prevention efforts on all levels of government. Dissatisfaction with federal policy was articulated by Denver Chief of Detectives Paul Montoya: "Billions of dollars have been poured into anticrime programs since President Johnson, but no one can truthfully tell you it has made one iota of impact."

Many respondents also felt that programs and practices of state and local governments appear equally ineffectual in reducing crime. As Governor Jerry Brown of California admits, "The entire (criminal justice) system is distorted because of overload."

Urban leaders claim that residents are distressed about the "revolving door" of justice and fearful of released prisoners in their communities. The public no longer trusts public safety institutions to protect them, so they are seeking to protect themselves. Colorado State Representative Kathy Speltz echoed the sentiments of many urban dwellers when she said: "When citizens stay inside, behind their locked doors, shaking in fear, then the criminals have won. We must be willing to stand up and fight."

Some communities have banded together to form Block Watch patrols, guarding their own neighborhoods. Others have hired private security agencies to protect their lives and property. And, as Macomb (Michigan) Circuit Court Chief Judge George Deneweth of Detroit says still others are "taking the law into their own hands. It's like the days of the Old West. Government couldn't protect people so they formed vigilante groups."

- Concentration on Punishment

Although several urban leaders voiced interest in discovering the roots of criminal behavior, the consensus among officials was that this sociological approach is no longer relevant. Sensitivity to the rights of criminals has been replaced by concern for the rights of victims and society. Retaliation rather than rehabilitation is increasingly perceived as the function of the criminal justice system.

Most officials surveyed feel that the courts have handcuffed police rather than criminals, and that citizens are demanding increased sanctions and fewer rights for criminal offenders. Detroit Judge George Deneweth expressed the views of many when he said: "The liberals in the Correction Department and the high court have lost sight of the fact that prisoners are supposed to be punished. The public is demanding that they be put away. People feel there are too many rights for the criminal and not enough for society."

In fact, in some cities and states policies have been enacted that whittle away the rights of the accused. Citizens of Milwaukee recently approved a new bail referendum which allows judges to deny bail in certain cases; Alaska has abolished plea bargaining; and Attorney General George Deukmejian of California would like to revoke the exclusionary rule. Although some respondents felt uncomfortable with this trend, few community leaders share the opinion of Dallas City Council member Max Goldbatt who stated: "We don't understand crime; we understand punishment. Rather than take people off the streets and throw them in jail, we need to study them. We need more behavioral scientists than jail guards."

These fundamental shifts in direction and temperament indicate a major reversal of trends developed in the 1960s. In that decade, officials encouraged extensive efforts to reform and remodel social systems and existing public institutions. The Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA) provided substantial funding for innovative pilot programs which ranged from early court diversion to ex-offender employment strategies. State and local criminal justice agencies disbursed additional funds for programs designed to increase public understanding of criminal motivation and behavior. Faith in government to fund and direct programs, as well as protect lives and property, was accompanied by a belief in the possible rehabilitation of all but the most desperate career criminals. It appears that in the 1980s citizens and community leaders alike have lost this confidence.

Introduction

THE CAUSES OF CRIME

The sociological approach to criminal behavior has been supplanted by an effort to clearly define the causes of crime and the fear of crime. Community leaders identified seven major causes:

- The Failure of the Criminal Justice System

Police Chief Kenneth Harms of Miami represented the sentiments of many when he stated that there will be no decline in crime "unless we insist that those we arrest have to pay a price for criminal behavior. Right now they escape sanctions with a frequency that leaves them feeling that crime pays and it carries no penalty." Others cite bail and parole policies, plea bargaining, court delays, judicial leniency, overprotective rights and overcrowded prisons as incentives to crime. University Professor Dr. Marvin Dunn of Miami asserts that the "criminal justice system is bankrupt. It only gives the appearance of responding to crime in the community." Officials report that citizens blame all segments of the criminal justice system for failing to apprehend, prosecute and incarcerate offenders expeditiously. Professionals agree that there is little or no coordination or planning among police, court and correction agencies. As a result, according to Arizona Justice Planning Agency Executive Director Richard Wertz, "the system is so fragmented that it is easy to pass the responsibility on to somebody else...Every time one segment comes under fire, they point the blame to some other segment."

The failure of the criminal justice system to function cohesively and responsibly is perceived by many as a clear cause of crime. The message to criminals is clear, says California Attorney General George Deukmejian, "There is profit in crime. Loopholes for the guilty are plentiful. Criminal conduct will be tolerated in large doses before punishment is meted out."

○ Loss of Traditional Values

The tremendous increase in juvenile crime and adolescent recidivism is traced by many civic leaders to the failure of parents and social institutions to instill traditional values in children. Dallas District Judge Donald Metcalfe succinctly stated that "law enforcement can only do so much. Crime comes about because people don't have proper training in their family."

Indeed, community leaders throughout the country blamed the lack of discipline, love, stability, support and supervision within the family. They felt that families, schools and churches no longer provide moral training or proper recreational activities; bored and restless children have no positive outlets for their energy or curiosity. King County (Seattle) Superior Court Judge Jack Scholfield believes that a tendency toward crime "starts with the way a child is raised." His review of case histories of felony offenders demonstrates that "a high percentage of them had a deprived childhood, often as victims of abuse and neglect, who grew up in homes where they weren't helped to develop self-esteem."

The combination of these factors--lack of moral education, discipline, self-esteem, love and family stability--lead to a situation where, according to Denver Chief of Detectives Paul Montoya, "youth want everything 'NOW, today and my way' with no respect for their country, neighborhood or parents."

○ Unemployment

While the class and economic backgrounds of criminals are largely discounted as a major cause of crime, unemployment is recognized as a significant factor. Quite simply, according to Willie Bridges, the coordinator of the Minneapolis Crime Victims Center, "if there aren't any jobs, people are going to feed their faces no matter what." Urban leaders stress that negative effects of unemployment transcend the loss of income; unemployment also reduces self-esteem and fosters idleness. The combination of unsatisfied physical needs, anxiety, depleted psychological strength and idle time all contribute to criminal behavior. City Councilman John Ferraro of Los Angeles believes that idleness exacerbates the crime problem: "People don't have anything to do and that's part of economics. They have lots of idle time to do the wrong things." Inflation, according to many officials, only compounds the frustrations of unemployment.

○ Media and Politicians

Media and politicians were both condemned for fueling the fear of crime. Fiery campaign rhetoric about wars on crime and constant repetition of alarming new crime statistics provoke an increased fear in communities. According to Minneapolis Chief Public Defender William Kennedy, "Politicians at the local, state and national level are solely responsible for the unhealthy fear that most people have about crime. All the media does, by and large, is report what the politicians are saying." Other community leaders blamed broadcast and print news reports for glamorizing violence and sensationalizing crime.

Television entertainment programs were thought by some leaders to contribute toward the breakdown of the family and the glorification of violent crime. Cleveland Council President George L. Forbes and others pointed to the loose morality on soap operas and the sex and treachery on evening programs as adding to the deterioration of America's social fabric.

○ Growth and Mobility

"Maybe fear is the price we pay for mobility," said Assistant Professor William Feyerherm of the School of Social Welfare, University of Wisconsin.

The growth and development of urban centers and the greater mobility of its citizens can yield beneficial results but, according to many community leaders, these factors also affect crime rates. Population shifts in themselves, however, are not necessarily associated with crime, but transients do disrupt the stability of cohesive neighborhoods. According to Phoenix newspaper publisher Darrow Tully, "one of the big problems is that Phoenix also is a transient and derelict haven...All cities in the Sunbelt have the same problems."

People without roots in a community are perceived as not sharing feelings of civic pride or respect for neighborhood property. Unchecked growth can lead to urban decay and community deterioration. "As a result," says Dr. Thomas R. Evans of Cleveland's Begun Institute, "people view themselves as individuals within a milieu of people rather than as part of a large group. Survival becomes a factor. Looking out for yourself becomes a factor. Consequently we have an increase in the individual acts of crime."

° Drugs and Alcohol

The proliferation of drugs is a major problem in all the metropolitan cities surveyed. Some officials cite "recreational drug use" by adolescents as contributing to disrespect for the law and public institutions. But most community leaders are concerned with "hard drug" use and the crimes generated by addiction.

In Cleveland, where City Council President George Forbes estimates drugs as a factor in 25-50% of all crimes, Dr. Thomas Evans stresses the phenomenal amount of money required to sustain a drug habit. "Certainly crimes and even violent crimes become a necessary way to support that habit" he maintained.

Many community leaders also note the relationship between drug abuse and traffic accidents. But the number one drug problem in America, according to Tom Malone, president of the Ballard (Washington) Chamber of Commerce, is alcohol: "It plays a significant role in domestic problems and crime." It was noted that drunk driving alone kills more people annually than homicide, but it is often treated as a minor infraction.

- Guns

The impact of private gun ownership, particularly hand guns, on crime is perhaps the area of greatest controversy. Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess of Los Angeles believes that "the single reason for murders is the proliferation of handguns." He does not propose the licensing of rifles, shotguns or handguns, but he does advocate the abolition of private ownership of handguns. Others contend that criminals kill people with or without guns and that citizens have the right to bear arms to protect their lives and property. For example, Ballard Washington Chamber of Commerce President, Tom Malone doesn't feel gun legislation would have any effect on premeditated crimes. A determined criminal, he says, "could probably buy a gun somewhere."

SOLUTIONS

Virtually every official interviewed for The Figgie Report Part III voiced concern about the failure to diminish crime and the fear it generates. Many expressed dissatisfaction with present law enforcement efforts and pessimism about substantive institutional reform. Yet almost all of the community leaders expressed hope for the success of some crime prevention programs, particularly at the local level. The following four remedies were most frequently proposed as possible solutions to the crime problem.

- Citizen Involvement

Of all the remedies suggested to reduce crime and its attendant fear, the one which received the most widespread and enthusiastic support was citizen involvement at the local level. As Mark Howard, the director of Community Crime Prevention for the Seattle Police Department stated, "Community involvement is the fourth component in the criminal justice system, along with police, courts, and corrections."

Community leaders throughout the nation hail programs featuring individual and group participation in crime prevention. Operation ID and police-aided Home Security Evaluations were among the individual efforts often mentioned.

The most highly praised program in all participating cities was Neighborhood Block Watch, where neighborhood residents agree to patrol the area and report suspicious activity. Lieutenant Jim Myers of Memphis testified that neighborhoods participating in Block Watch programs "develop a reputation of being crime-conscious and an undesirable place to operate," and experience as much as 50% less crime.

Block Watch programs not only reduce burglary rates in participating communities; they also foster closer community ties, thereby diminishing the fear of crime. Dr. Edward Peeples, a medical sociologist from Richmond, Virginia, suggested that these programs "help make a village out of a neighborhood." He feels that they particularly alleviate the feelings of loneliness, fear, and alienation experienced by the elderly.

Very few urban leaders share Detroit Councilman David Eberhard's characterization of Block Watch programs as "a bunch of malarkey....a security blanket." Rather, praise for this concept and its practice is almost unanimous among all civic leaders, regardless of political philosophy.

The Figgie III contribution submitted by the Chicago Sun-Times presented a case study of perhaps the most prominent citizen action group in the country, the Guardian Angels. Attitudes toward the Guardian Angels run strong and seem to vary widely in every city where they have organized. "There will never be a measurable impact on the crime rate that can be attributed to the (Guardian Angel) patrols." said Richard Shapiro, the community relations director for the New York City Police Department. John B. Schnell, on the other hand, manager of research for the American Public Transit Association, admitted that although insurance problems prevent his organization from openly endorsing the Angels, "we encourage our members to welcome the Guardian Angels privately. They do provide a perception of safety."

° Increased Funds for Law Enforcement

Although community crime prevention is the single most effective remedy advocated by most urban leaders, many also favor increased funding for law enforcement agencies and coordination systems. The overburdening of all criminal justice components was cited by many officials as a major problem in reducing crime. Reg Bruce, executive director of Seattle's Citizens Council Against Crime, summed the problem up by noting that "the police arrest more people than the prosecutor can handle, the prosecutor prosecutes more people than the courts can handle, the courts send more people to prison than the prisons can handle, and the prisons parole more people than the parole officers can handle.".

Several community leaders stress the need for improving the police department's image, agreeing with Cleveland Heights Police Chief Martin G. Lentz's assertion that "public confidence in the police department is the best means to dispel the fear of crime." Others urge that special attention be paid to affirmative action in hiring in order to improve public trust in the police force. Many echo St. Louis Mayor Vincent C. Schoemehl Jr.'s belief that the way to reduce fear of crime is by "bringing back the neighborhood policeman." Increased police visibility and improved response time are encouraged by many leaders.

Others focus on the congested court system and favor hiring more District Attorneys and Judges to expedite trial dispositions. Ohio Court of Appeals Judge John Patton suggests the courts "are so inundated with criminal cases (that) we are forced to negotiate with criminals which should never be the case." Whereas proposals developed in the 1960s sought to reduce caseloads, authorities in the 1980s seem to be seeking an increase in court facilities.

Most of the urban officials who favor increased spending to reduce crime feel that the first priority should be to expand existing correctional facilities or to build new ones. Arizona publisher Darrow Tully claims the lack of jail space tells criminals to "go ahead and commit the crime. We don't have a place to put you if we prosecute." Los Angeles Deputy District Attorney Joseph Siler believes that "virtually every person that we release from a state prison has an extremely high probability of returning to serious crime conduct...I really do not believe that we should be releasing those people back into society."

Some civic leaders espouse a more hopeful view of offenders and a less positive one of prison. "All they're doing is warehousing people," according to Wayne (Michigan) Circuit Court Judge Richard Dunn who believes prisons should teach skills to prepare prisoners for jobs.

Whether prisons should rehabilitate offenders or merely remove criminals from society remains a source of controversy. There seems to be a widespread belief, however, in the need for more correctional facilities throughout the country.

o Swift and Certain Punishment

While increased resources would permit more expeditious processing of criminal cases, many community leaders advocate legislative and judicial reforms to assure swift and certain punishment for criminals. According to many urban leaders, citizens are tremendously concerned about the impact of protective rights and court delays on public safety. They perceive justice as neither swift nor certain.

Some urban leaders advocate stricter bail policies. Others, such as Wayne (Michigan) County Prosecutor William Calahan, support mandatory minimum sentences for specific crimes. "With that," he said, "judges won't have the discretion they have now." Judges are viewed by many as too lenient and too powerful. A few share Seattle Public Defender Holtman's opposition to standardized sentencing because "it's more important to do the right thing for the individual than to equalize treatment." Perhaps the most dramatic reduction in the rights of the accused was implied by Seattle Block Watch leader Ed Watton who stated: "Unfortunately, we have that presumption of innocence."

Introduction

Advocates for increased resources as well as legislative and judicial reform were best represented by Los Angeles Police Chief Daryl Gates who listed "some rather straightforward measures that must be taken if we are to slow the rate of crime growth: more sensible bail procedures, speedy trials, an end to endless appeal procedures, making truth relevant in criminal proceedings, more thorough police work, greater cooperation between police and prosecutors, possibly hiring more judges, adequate sentencing practices, and, lastly, providing for additional facilities to separate criminals from the law abiding."

° New Approaches

Community leaders throughout the country express a great concern with the rights and welfare of victims of crime and their cooperation as prosecution witnesses. In Seattle, for example, the Victim/Witness Advocacy and Referral Project provides victims and witnesses with such services as emergency housing, moral support and education about the court system. Aside from providing needed services, these programs seek to reduce the time victims and witnesses must spend in court. Seattle Director Dick Sugiyama reports that "on the surface, (our organization) looks like a social service. But our focus is crime reduction. If we help victims of crime, they're more cooperative and effective witnesses. We get stronger cases, increased convictions and crime reduction."

Several community leaders stress the need to concentrate limited court resources on the prosecution of repeat offenders. Programs such as California's Career Criminal Prosecution Program provides extra funds for prosecuting criminals with lengthy and serious police records. Governor Jerry Brown claims this approach has significantly increased the conviction rate and length of prison terms for career criminals.

Other programs seek to alleviate the burden on the courts by diverting less serious offenders to less formal and expensive proceedings. Dallas's Max Goldblatt thinks too much time is spent on "victimless crime - like traffic tickets." Some officials favor decriminalization of offenses from marijuana possession to prostitution, while others suggest the establishment of mediation dispute centers to handle problems arising from interpersonal relationships. Typical cases in the Miami Citizen Dispute Settlement Project include landlord-tenant disputes and domestic and neighborhood problems.

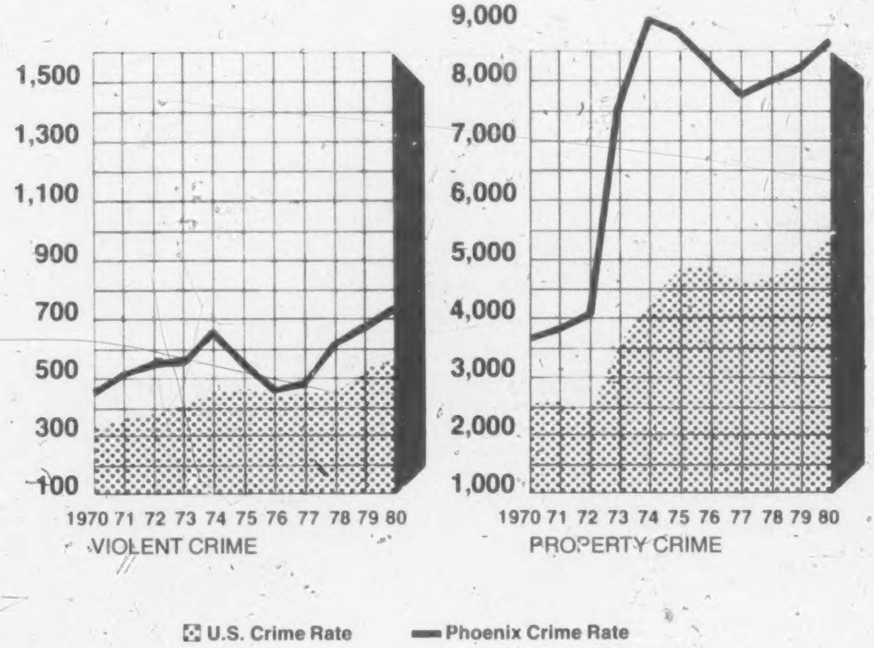
Restitution, in the form of money, service or both, was suggested by several urban officials as an effective remedy. Work programs were advocated as an effective treatment for youth. Citizens of Denver suggest requiring parents of convicted juveniles to reimburse taxpayers for some of the cost of imprisonment and requiring inmates to contribute to the cost of their incarceration. Other forms of restitution include direct compensation to victims and donation of free community services by criminal offenders.

California Governor Jerry Brown believes that some form of mandatory service for youth is the best hope for reducing crime. He points to the California Conservation Corps as beneficial to participants and society. "They fight fires, move trees, fight floods, and you are increasing the net worth of the community and redirecting their habits. It will take money but it would be a domestic defense against a cancer that's going to eat the heart out of our society with far greater certainty than the Russians or the Cubans or the Afghanistans." Carolyn Warner, Arizona's State Superintendent of Public Instruction agrees that work programs not only improve the economic situation but encourage rehabilitation while providing some restitution to crime victims.

None of these recommendations was perceived as a panacea to the crime problem in America. Yet all merit serious attention. What is needed is a careful and thorough evaluation of the remedies proposed by these community leaders. A comprehensive analysis of the approaches to reducing crime that have been most successful would help fulfill the objective of reducing crime and the fear it generates in America.

Phoenix, Arizona

Reported incidents per 100,000 population



PHOENIX, ARIZONA

Prepared by the Arizona Republic*

The crime problem in Phoenix is spreading like a cancer.

Everyone agrees on that.

But what people don't agree on is how Phoenix should take control of the problem and fight back.

Mayor Margaret Hance says, "We have to take a look at the complete criminal-justice system" to solve the crime problems.

Governor Bruce Babbitt says crime prevention -- the "single most useful" tool -- should be emphasized.

U.S. District Judge Carl Muecke says the only way crime can be reduced is to battle it from the economic side and work toward "a prosperous society with full employment."

And City Councilman Calvin Goode suggests that crime should be attacked at one of its sources -- young people, who commit a high percentage of crimes.

Those differing cures form a roadblock to solving -- or at least mitigating -- Phoenix's crime problem, according to the director of the state's only justice-planning body.

Richard Wertz, executive director of the Arizona Justice Planning Agency, says, "What we need is a broad-based consensus of how to approach the problem of crime.

---

* Written by Pat Sallen

"Once we have a game plan, then we need a system of public accountability, where everyone responsible has a day of reckoning, and they can say what they've done."

Wertz, whose agency will be phased out by the end of 1981 because the Legislature did not appropriate operating funds for it, said one roadblock is that the criminal justice system -- the courts, the police and jails -- is "tremendously fragmented."

"The system is so fragmented (that) it is easy to pass the responsibility on to somebody else," he said. "What happens is that every time one segment comes under fire, they point the blame to some other segment.

"I think that maybe we're in an ideal situation, at the crossroads, right now. If we were to do nothing about the problem, crime and fear of crime in Phoenix could be overwhelming in the future."

33 Percent Jump

From 1970 to 1980, Phoenix's crime-index rate (the number of major felony offenses per 100,000 population) increased 33 percent. The actual number of reported incidents of crime jumped 74 percent, from 50,950 in 1970 to 88,524 in 1980, according to police statistics.

In comparison, Phoenix has experienced a 35.1 percent growth rate over the 10-year period, going from the 20th-largest to the ninth-largest city in the United States. The population has grown from 584,303, to 789,749, according to the 1980 census.

Mrs. Hance noted that in 1973 and 1974, Phoenix had the highest crime rate per capita in the United States. But, she added, although Phoenix is high in property crimes, the number of violent crimes -- rape, murder, assault and robbery -- is low.

"People are safe here," she said, "their property is not."

Senator Alfredo Gutierrez, however, said Phoenix's situation with property and violent crimes has made fear "very prevalent."

Gutierrez, D-Phoenix, said, "I think that people won't take walks and rarely go out alone. If you go to some of the neighborhoods in my district you find 17 locks on the door."

Darwin Aycock, secretary-treasurer of the Arizona AFL-CIO and a lifelong Phoenix resident, echoed Gutierrez's views.

"Going out just in my neighborhood gives me second thoughts," he said.

And the Rev. Wesley Darby, an outspoken opponent of crime who has battled to close pornography shops in the Valley, said the possibility of a house being burglarized is so great that when someone dies, West Hign Baptist Church, 3301 N. 19th Ave., makes sure the family's home is watched during the funeral.

Sixth in U.S.

According to the 1979 FBI Uniform Crime Report, Phoenix ranked sixth among all U.S. cities in overall crime rate. The 1980 ranking will not be released until October.

Among 12 comparably sized cities, Phoenix ranked fourth overall in the crime-index rate, beaten only by Atlanta, Dallas and Kansas City, Mo., Phoenix Police Department spokesman Mike Jahn said.

In the violent-crime area, Phoenix ranked seventh. In the property-crime category -- theft, burglary and auto theft, which are 92 percent of the city's crime -- Phoenix ranked second, Jahn said.

In 1980, there was an overall crime-index-rate increase of 17 percent over 1979. The number of incidents of crime was 89,329, which includes 7,021 violent crimes and 81,504 property crimes.

In 1981, the felony-crime rate declined 11 percent for the first six months of the year. This was the first time in seven years that the rate declined in the first half of any year.

Police Chief Ruben Ortega says that mid-1980 was a turning point for Phoenix, as people began taking an interest in fighting crime by becoming more involved in such crime-prevention programs as Block Watch.

The Police Department is putting more emphasis on crime-prevention programs, which Ortega said is the key to battling crime-rate increases.

"At our level, we're gearing more efforts toward prevention. Resources are getting tight, so we're not going to see additional manpower," he said.

Block Watch Touted

Among the community leaders interviewed, Block Watch was pointed to as the most effective crime-prevention program in Phoenix. Not only does it primarily reduce the burglary rate in neighborhoods, but it helps to re-establish "community feeling," they said.

Through Block Watch, police teach residents how to protect their own property and their neighbors' by reporting suspicious activity.

Phoenix police have 1,000 Block Watch programs operating throughout the Valley. In one north Phoenix neighborhood, the burglary rate was slashed in half during the first two months of that area's Block Watch.

Also praised was the privately funded Silent Witness program, in which callers anonymously can give police information on unsolved crimes and receive rewards of up to $1,000.

Since Silent Witness was started in March 1979, more than 360 unsolved crimes have been cleared, and $48,000 in property has been recovered.

In addition to crime-prevention tactics like Block Watch and additional locks on a secure home, people saw additional -- yet varied -- cures for crime.

Muecke said he'd like to see a return of job programs, such as the Works Projects Administration.

"It's fashionable to say that poverty doesn't create crime. That's not the way my presentence reports read," he said. "With more unemployment, there's a lesser chance to earn a living legitimately. More people are going to earn a living illegitimately."

Carolyn Warner, state superintendent of public instruction, also advocates work programs, not only to improve the economic situation but for rehabilitation and restitution ot crime victims.

Restitution, Darby said, is one area in which victims always lose.

The courts need to get back to the practice of "old biblical restitution" in which "if a man steals one sheep, he pays back five," he said. He added that the only ones who gain now "are the lawyers and the person who commits the crime."

Goode, among others, says more attention should be paid to young people.

"Police statistics indicate an increase of crime among teen-agers and younger (people)," he said. "We ought to take more of our police reserves and work with young people.

"I am one who believes that working with young people is effective."

Concern Over Cutbacks

He said he is concerned that Phoenix budget cutbacks in youth-recreation programs might cause more youth crime.

In 1979, almost 60 percent of 2,017 arrested for burglary were juveniles.

"The problem is that young people follow examples," Mrs. Warner said. "They don't sit over in the corner and turn into something."

Churches, schools, the family and other institutions have to help young people "understand work and time," she said.

Ortega said the increasing number of young people involved in crime is due to the high school dropout rate, the unemployment rate and, in the last several years, an increase in street-gang activity.

He suggested mandatory schooling through 18 years and an alternative school that disruptive students, now expelled from regular school, could attend.

"Critics would say that would cost too much. But we ought to look at what it costs to society to have these kids on the street," he said.

Community leaders are just as divided on the causes of Phoenix's crime problem as they are on proposed cures.

Phoenix's rapid growth, however, often is pointed to as a major contributing factor to the crime rate but in different ways.

"The kind of friendly family structure that was in this city 15 years ago or so has been killed," said Gutierrez, a lifelong Phoenix resident.

Muecke noted that as Phoenix gets bigger, "you don't know who the criminals are."

"Years ago, practically everyone knew each other," he said.

Influx Blamed

Darrow Tully, publisher of The Arizona Republic/The Phoenix Gazette, said thefts and burglaries are increasing because more people are moving to the Valley as energy costs increase.

The influx floods the job market, he said, which exacerbates the crime problem.

"One of the big problems is that Phoenix also is a transient and derelict haven. They steal hubcabs, they steal purses. ...All cities in the Sun Belt have the same problems," he said.

One problem often pointed to as a contributing factor to crime is inadequate resources -- facilities and personnel -- in the criminal-justice system, specifically in incarceration areas and in the courts.

With a severe lack of jail space, Tully said, it's almost as if Phoenix is saying, "Go ahead and commit the crime. We don't have a place to put you if we prosecute."

"That means we are constantly putting back on the street people who don't deserve to be there. The recidivism rate is too high," he said. "Tell me crime doesn't pay in Phoenix."

Weak Link

The physical capacity of the criminal-justice system is its "weakest link," and "crime-prone people" no longer can be contained, said former Mayor John Driggs, vice-chairman of Western Savings and Loan Assocation and chairman of Western Financial Crop., the bank's parent company.

He said there should be more use of buildings, like a hotel recently converted into a women's prison on East Van Buren.

"It would be better to have a few escapes than have them all on the street," he said. "Everybody doesn't have to be in maximum security."

Muecke said it often is suggested that one reason Phoenix has such a crime problem is that judges are "too soft-hearted and turn criminals loose."

"If so, why are the jails crowded?" he asked.

Public sentiment goes in cycles, he said. First there's a move to de-emphasize incarceration, then there are attempts to "get tough and throw away the key."

"Obviously, there are people who commit crimes over and over again who should be given stiff sentences," he said.

But mandatory sentencing "doesn't take into account the complexities of the problem," he said, and the evils are worse than not having it.

Muecke said plea bargaining -- which many of those interviewed said is increasing -- often is made to sound "onerous."

"Sometimes it is, if you have someone charged with murder and you let them off for spitting on the sidewalk," he said.

Although indecision continues among community leaders over the causes and cures of Phoenix's crime, most predicted the crime rate will increase.

Driggs said that despite traditional crime-fighting efforts and new prevention programs, Phoenix's crime rate will continue to grow with the city's population.

"I know from the experience of other cities," Driggs said. "It's going to happen as the natural byproduct of a growing population. We can use all the traditional efforts, and then all these new programs and improvements, but there is no magic solution."

But Mrs. Hance said Phoenix will not accept an increasing crime rate as a product of a growing population.

"Sometimes, people have the philosophy that crime is a part of growth and will increase with the population. We won't let that happen here," she said.

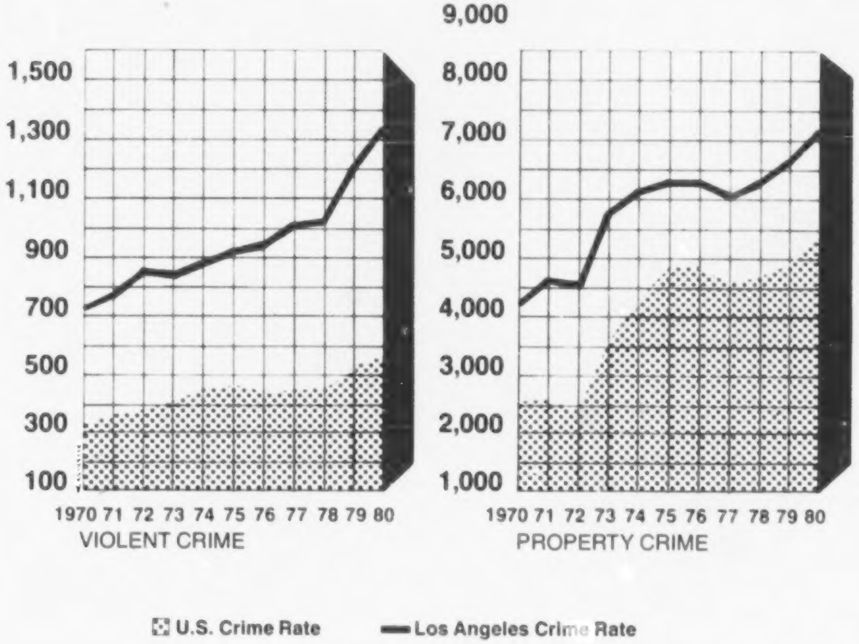
Babbitt said that because there are more young adults in the population, "things are not likely to get a lot better" 10 to 15 years in the future.

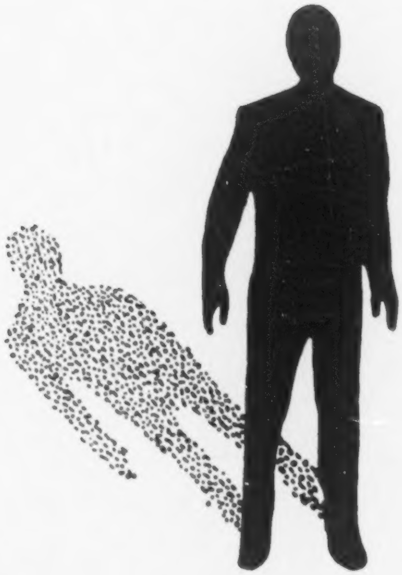
The majority of criminals are in the 20-to-30-year-old age group, he said.

"A few years out of that, things will get considerably better as this tremendous glop of young people begins to move through the age brackets," he said.

Los Angeles, California

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





LOS ANGELES, CALIFORNIA

Prepared by Los Angeles Magazine*

"You've heard the definition of a conservative. That's a liberal who's been mugged. So many people have been mugged that there aren't many liberals left on the streets... No other government in the world could survive this level of violent crime. In other countries, martial law would have been declared." - Former Attorney General Evelle J. Younger

As it turns out, the police knew that there was a crime wave before the rest of us found out about it last fall, when it moved into our neighborhoods -- when four innocent people out for a Sunday stroll were senselessly gunned down in a quiet neighborhood; when armed robbers who could have gotten the loot wihtout harming anyone gratuitously shot and killed employees and customers in a Bob's Big Boy; when a Los Angeles Herald Examiner editorial writer was slain during a holdup outside a restaurant. Then we had a crime wave.

"We've had this violent crime for some time; it's been escalating since 1970," says Sheriff Peter Pitchess. "But people weren't so concerned about it. They weren't that aware of it because the media was busy misstating the facts in other areas. Finally, when a newswoman was killed, they started to focus their attention on the seriousness of crime."

Because of this climate of terror -- not only in L.A., but across the country -- industrialist Harry E. Figgie Jr., chief officer of Figgie International, a multidivisional company that manufactures automatic sprinklers, fire trucks, baseball gloves and other products, decided to underwrite a three-part national study on the fear of crime, to be conducted and published by New York-based Research and Forecasts. Based on a random telephone sampling of more than 1,000 persons,

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* Written by Kathleen Neumeyer

The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime: America Afraid concluded that "Americans today have become afraid of one another. Fear of violent crime seems to have made the country helpless, incapable of dealing with the sources of its fear." Also, according to the survey, four out of 10 Americans are terrified that they will become victims of violent crime such as murder, rape, robbery or assault. And the same number feel afraid even in their own neighborhoods.

The second part of The Figgie Report surveyed senior executives at Fortune 1,000 companies and found that 53 per cent of them have burglar alarms and other safety measures in their residences, more than one in four has an unlisted telephone number, more than one in the three varies his or her daily route to work to guard against abduction and one in four inspects his or her hotel room for hidden intruders.

For the third part of the report, newspapers and magazines in 13 major cities were asked to interview community leaders about what they think can be done to solve what most people believe is the country's most serious problem. Los Angeles Magazine researched the L.A. portion of the report; following are the people we talked to -- many of whom had not spoken for the public record before -- and what they had to say about the reasons for the upswing in crime ... and their personal solutions.

Governor Jerry Brown

Most politicians are scurrying to climb aboard the anticrime bandwagon. Mayor Tom Bradley chaired a committee to see if it could come up with any new ideas; Supervisor Pete Schabarum hosted a women's seminar on crime for county employees; President Ronald Reagan appointed a fact-finding commission; Attorney General William French Smith appointed a special task force on violent crime to hold hearings throughout the country and report back to him this month with recommendations for changes in laws, programs and budgets that would improve coordinated efforts by federal, state and local agencies against crime. As for Governor Brown, he's drawn up a list of 14 concepts and is pushing an anticrime sales-tax boost.

Brown says that during his term in office there has been a 100 per cent increase in the number of persons sent to prison in California. In the early 1970s, an average of 4,500 felons went to prison each year. In 1980, some 11,000 were sentenced and a higher number is expected this year. There are now 26,500 inmates in California prisons; if present arrest and conviction rates continue, there will be 36,000 prisoners by 1985.

The trouble, he says, is that the prisons are overcrowded; and it has been traditional in California to solve such overcrowding by releasing prisoners early -- letting some out the back door to accommodate those at the front door -- and reducing nonviolent-felony charges to misdemeanors. Says Brown, "The entire system is distorted because of overload." His anticrime tax would raise $5 billion through a quarter-cent sales tax, with $2.5 billion earmarked for prisons and the other half for law-enforcement services.

If the prison system were expanded to house an extra 10,000 prisoners, the crime rate throughout the state would drop by 12 per cent because, according to a Rand Corporation study, each criminal who is sent to prison commits 14 serious crimes a year. Thus, for every year the criminals is in prison, 14 fewer serious crimes are committed. Brown points out that if repeat criminals could be identified, "cost-effective incarceration could be achieved."

"Another question is: What are they doing in the prisons?" Brown says. "Taking karate lessons and lifting weights -- so that when they get out, they're more dangerous." He cites four programs that should be effective in cutting crime:

° The Career Criminal Prosecution Program provides extra funds for prosecuting criminals with lengthy and serious police records. The program has significantly increased the conviction rate and length of prison terms for career criminals.

- The Career Criminal Apprehension Program provides funds for police officials to concentrate on identifying and arresting severe repeat offenders.

- The Victim/Witness Program compensates victims of violent crimes and provides services for victims who will appear as witnesses in court.

- The Crime Resistance Task Force develops community crime-prevention programs to enable citizens to patrol their own neighborhoods.

Brown also believes that some form of mandatory service for youth is the best hope for reducing crime. He points out that while it costs between $14,000 and $15,000 a year to maintain each person in a program such as the California Conservation Corps -- as opposed to $11,000 a year in state prison -- society profits in the long run, because it gets back $1.20 on each $1 spent through the value of the services the youths perform.

"They fight fires, move trees, fight floods, and you are increasing the net worth of the community and redirecting their habits. It's old-fashioned habit forming. It will take money, but it would be a domestic defense against a cancer that's going to eat the heart out of our society with far greater certainty than the Russians or the Cubans or the Afghanistans," he says.

The CCC, which tries to draw volunteers who have not been involved in crime, is composed of 35 per cent women and 30 to 40 per cent minorities. Members are paid the minimum wage for their conservation work and are charged for their room and for medical expenses.

"An important component of the program is that the work involves some danger and some risk taking," Brown says. "It fulfills a need among young people for some risk taking, competition and danger and is a tremendous outlet for these energies. For the first time, they have to get up at a definite hour and they are called upon to account for their behavior. Others depend on them.

"It is a character-building experience of the type that many miss in our society. Far more is expected of them than in any school system. All the prisons in the world won't get at the root cause of crime, which is the lack of internalized citizenship. The military can play it for some people, but we're not all cut out for the military life."

Brown says he'd rather see $15 billion to $20 billion spent in this line than in anti-inflationary measures. "It is a positive effort. Societies generally collapse from moral degeneration. Whatever the price, it's small. What I'm talking about is a fundamental change in the way youth makes the transition from childhood to adulthood. What we're experiencing is the result of a lack of a rite of passage, a lack of supervision, caused by the proliferation of the automobile, the television and the anonymity of urbanization. It's going to eat away our culture."

Mayor Tom Bradley

"I think it's the level of violence, the dimensions of violent crime, that have caused all of us to have increased concern," says Bradley. "Almost every night on the news we hear about people entering their homes and being killed, other people being shot with no provocation, no rationale for it. It is this level of unexplainable violence that causes us the greatest concern."

Bradley told the attorney general's task force that California is the number-one agricultural state in the union and "the greatest cash crop in California is marijuana." He adds: "Almost every law-enforcement officer will tell you of the connection between crime and narcotics. This problem should be handled at the federal level. The Los Angeles Police Department is asking for a fixed-wing aircraft to use for marijuana-field surveillance, but I don't want to create a Los Angeles Air Force. I'd be prepared to have federal help in destroying those fields." He also feels that the federal government should stop contraband "at its source, through diplomatic means or economic pressures."

Bradley applauds the Neighborhood Watch Program and says that some citizens are being effective in helping as volunteers in police precinct stations and in patrolling shopping centers.

Sheriff Peter J. Pitchess

"I think we're suffering from a siege mentality where people hurry and lock themselves in because they don't want to be out on the streets alone or be anyplace else where they might get in trouble," Pitchess says, adding, "I don't think there are any so-called safe areas in L.A. County, with gang violence escalating like it has."

He does, however, see one irony amid the chaos: "Its an interesting thing. The legislature has suddenly blossomed into the greatest law-and-order agency we've ever had. People who opposed every pro law-enforcement bill are now stumbling over each other to introduce new legislation favoring law enforcement."

Although gun control is a political hot potato, Pitchess is abundantly clear on the subject: "The single reason for murders is the proliferation of handguns," he says. "I am totally opposed to gun control in the sense that I don't want licensing of rifles, I don't want licensing of shotguns, I don't want licensing of handguns. But I want the abolition of private ownership of handguns. The only way that can be accomplished is to have the federal government do it. Congress has a more shameful record on the subject of handguns than on any other subject that's ever come before it. How can they go to sleep at night, and how can they face themselves after being pressured by special-interest groups and, as a result, failing to pass the kind of legislation that's necessary?

"There must be in excess of 60 million handguns circulating. And I know that banning private ownership is not going to take guns away from the criminal. But somewhere between 70 and 80 per cent of the people who are killed are friends and relatives, husbands and wives -- and there's no reason why they, in a fit of passion, should be able to reach in a drawer, pick up a gun and shoot each other. And that's the only reason they do it, because they're not going to go in the kitchen and get a knife and stab each other."

What else would he do to stem the growing tide of violence? "I would provide adequate police forces so that the criminal would have to be mentally disturbed before he went out and committed a crime. When you have enough policemen, you can engage in a principle called 'saturation policing. "

Evelle J. Younger

Former California attorney general, former judge and former gubernatorial candidate, now an attorney in private practice, Younger believes that the time is right for politicians to take action in fighting crime. "It's often said that an alcoholic can't be helped until he hits bottom. Maybe that's what we must experience before we take effective steps to control crime. If so, we've bottomed out," he says. "Ten years ago, 60 per cent of our women were afraid to walk alone after sundown, now it's 80 per cent. Our citizens are demanding protection."

Also, he adds, 10 or 15 years ago it was popular for some politicians to talk about eliminating the root causes of crime rather than building prisons. "But now those chickens have come home to roost," he says. "They've discovered crime in Sacramento. The word is out."

Attorney General George Deukmejian

According to Deukmejian, "Today our system of justice gives criminals a very clear message: There is profit in crime, loopholes for the guilty are plentiful, criminal conduct will be tolerated in large doses before punishment is meted out."

Deukmejian says that the criminal-justice system has focused for so long on the rights of the accused "that it has become blind to the effect of crime on our lives." He favors the abolition of the rule under which courts do not permit evidence to be introduced that has been obtained by illegal searches and proscribed means. Prosecutors claim that guilty individuals often are set free because of the techniques used by police during an arrest.

District Attorney John Van de Kamp

Van de Kamp not only believes people have every reason to be afraid -- that they really are in more danger than ever before -- but senses "a certain societal amorality. One of the interesting things is that in these heavy murder cases like the Hillside Strangler or the Lawrence Bittaker cases we find no trace of remorse or consciousness of guilt. Why that has happened, I don't know. We seem to be dealing with a new breed of remorseless criminal."

How do we deal with that? "We can't just close our eyes and hope that crime will decrease," he says. "There are going to have to be societal changes. We have to do whatever we can as a society to take the guts out of the problem of black rage that fuels the blacks-against-blacks crime."

He thinks that the community needs to take a hard look at the increase and causes of gang crime. "We are dealing with a developing underclass. These people have no roots in the mainstream of society.

We need to alter their antisocial behavior. I often think that sociologists ought to be able to inculcate some other behavior that is less repellent than killing as a way of expressing rage. If only these people just thought that mooning or something, as offensive as it might be, was a form of conduct as expressive as shooting someone..."

Van de Kamp says that the LAPD tells him that 60 to 75 percent of all burglaries are committed by drug addicts to pay for their next fix. "We need to interdict the importation of heroin into the country. We were relatively successful for a while, but as a result of politics in the Middle East, Iran and Afghanistan, there has been a significant increase in the supply through Europe along the old French-connection trade route. The addiction rate in Italy, Germany and France has increased and we will see that here, too." He does not favor decriminalizing drug use but says that no method of curing drug addiction has proved to work very well.

As for gun control, Van de Kamp is adamant. "We must disarm," he says. "One need only look at the statistics of homicide. In California, a Bureau of Criminal Statistics report on homicides in 1979 reveals that 59 per cent of the homicides involved firearms, 77 per cent of the homicides were reported to have been committed by a friend, acquaintance or relative of the victim, and 50 percent of the homicides grew out of arguments. One comes to the inescapable conclusion that the availability of handguns fuels the homicide rate and the level of violence in this country."

He says he would like to see a Neighborhood Watch Program in every neighborhood and a substantial increase in sports activities, so that every child under age 18 could fully participate in sports. And he urges employment programs aimed at younger teen-agers, as well as an expansion of police capabilities, prosecutorial strength and prison facilities.

"Pessimistically, I don't think the crime rate is going to change much," he says. "It may change from one crime to another. But I think the biggest challenge is to reduce the level of violent crime, which is the major contributor to fear."

Deputy District Attorney Joseph Siler

Siler has several unique solutions to the current crime explosion. First: "Virtually every person that we release from a state prison has an extremely high probability of returning to serious crime conduct," he says. "The recidivism rates are probably 60 to 70 per cent. How can we justify releasing an individual back into society when he has 100 times the probability of committing a criminal offense when compared to another individual? I really do not believe that we should be releasing those people back into society.

"I sort of adopt the contagion theory. It's as if someone has an illness that is contagious. You don't cast any moral aspersions on them when you say, 'Stay away from me.' You just don't want to catch the illness. And that's the way I believe we should handle the addict and the career criminal. They should be separated in a benevolent way."

Siler urges that private enterprise be allowed to set up businesses within prison communities so that prisoners can pay their own way and help support their families, rather than making both dependent on society.

He also says that people fear highly publicized crimes disproportionately -- that if people were rational in their fears, they would worry most about drunk drivers. Drunk drivers kill more people in the United States than murderers, but most people don't worry much about being killed by a drunk driver.

"If we measured absolute levels of danger, we would fear drunk drivers more than all other criminals added together because they kill about 25,000 people a year, where homicides number only about 20,000," Siler says. "Drunk drivers also injure more people, and injure them more seriously, than those who commit assaults with deadly weapons. They do more property damage than the forgers and burglars and robbers all added together."

In Los Angeles, some 50,000 persons a year are prosecuted by the city attorney's office for drunk driving, but although their actions jeopardize lives and property, the worst punishment they face for a first offense is six months in jail or a $500 fine.

As for drug addiction: "I think that everyone's first desire would be to try to cure the problem," he says, "but if you don't know how to cure the problem, then you should try to find some solution that works without curing the problem." His solution would be to set up "pleasant exile communities" for heroin addicts, far from other towns, where heroin addicts could go voluntarily to live and would be supplied with free heroin.

"Life would go on as normally as possible within that area," he says. "They'd have TVs and cars and their wives could live with them, and life would be just as normal as you could possibly make it, with the exception that I don't think I'd let kids be raised in that environment. But apart from that, you'd try to make it just a typical small-town America," Siler says.

"I would use the free-enterprise system. The guy who worked the hardest would have the best of things. You might give out soup and bread for free, but if you wanted steak and a baked potato, you'd have to go down and put in some time working in the store or factory or whatever.

"We should realistically face the fact that we really don't know how to cure those who repeatedly violate serious criminal statutes -- and we ought to quit trying. The availability of heroin on the streets would dry up once it was readily available in the heroin community. There would be no demand to import it. I suspect what would happen is that the generation of heroin addicts would grow older and simply die out, and there would be no new generation replacing it."

In addition, creating lifetime heroin communities would eliminate the need to arrest drug users and dealers and would also decrease other crimes because users wouldn't have to steal to buy dope, he says.

Finally, Siler says, "We, as a society, seem to make so many mistakes. If you're realistic, you realize that those mistakes are likely to be continued. You just exist at a minimal level of pain. There's an acceptable level of criminal conduct that we somehow have grown used to, and we function notwithstanding. You get used to things, and your fears are no greater when it's twice as bad than they were when it was only half as bad."

Police Chief Daryl Gates

Gates lists "some rather straightforward measures that must be taken if we are to slow the rate of crime growth: more sensible bail procedures, speedy trials, an end to endless appeal procedures, making truth relevant in criminal proceedings, more thorough police work, greater cooperation between police and prosecutors, possibly hiring more judges, adequate sentencing practices and, lastly, providing for additional facilities to separate criminals from the law abiding.

"Clearly," Gates says, "a great part of our crime is fueled by the frustrations of unemployment, compounded by inflation. While recharging the free-enterprise system, controlling inflation and providing for full employment may not be the only solution to our crime problem, it may be the single most effective solution."

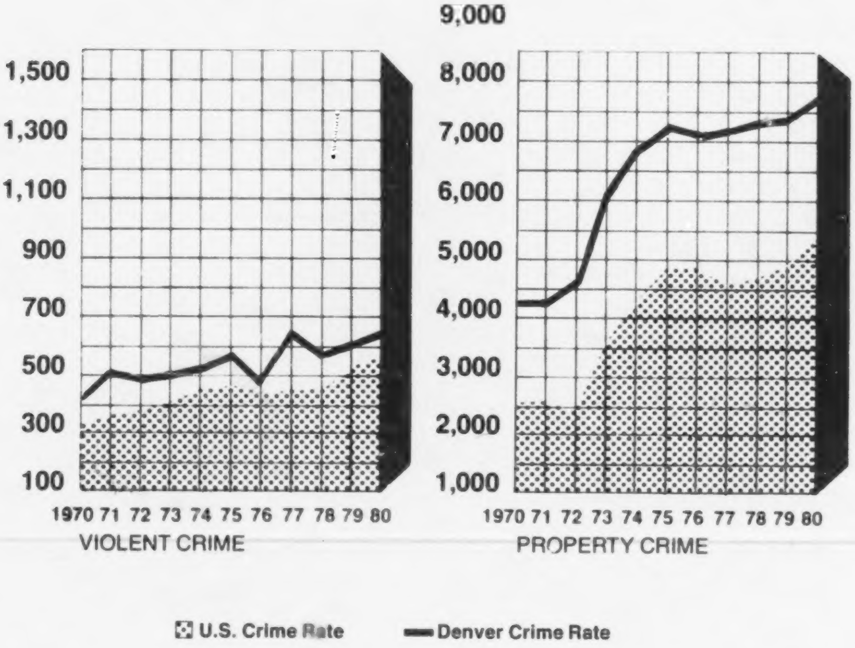
City Councilman John Ferraro

Ferraro blames the high rate of unemployment for many crime problems. "I think economics is one of the problems contributing to the high rate of crime and idleness; people don't have anything to do, and that is part of economics. They have lots of idle time to do the wrong things."

However, Ferraro says he is optimistic that even if crime doesn't decrease, fear will. "I am sure that if people 30 years ago or 50 years ago were told that this would be happening in 1980, they would have said, 'My God, I don't want to be around.' As you grow into things, they are not so bad."

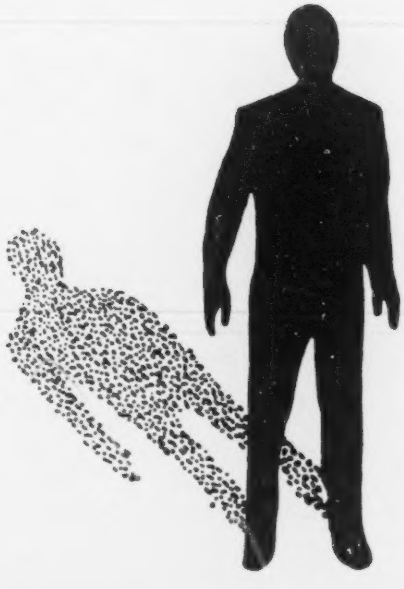
Denver, Colorado

Reported incidents per 100,000 population



VIOLENT CRIME

PROPERTY CRIME



DENVER, COLORADO

Prepared by the Sunday Denver Post*

Fear of crime is keeping an increasing number of people off the streets of Denver, but concerned citizens and responsible officials don't have any quick solutions.

"People are afraid to go out at night. If they aren't prisoners, I don't know what they are. Some people won't even come downtown, go to church or shop after the sun goes down on Capitol Hill," observes Denver's Chief of Detectives, Paul Montoya. "It's a hell of a commentary on 20th century America that galls me."

Montoya said fear of crime can't be erased until there is a justice system that deals effectively with criminals.

"We don't have a criminal justice system, we have a name, but no correlated, unified, directed operation. Each segment goes about doing its own thing. I don't know of anyone correlating a damn thing," he said.

"Billions of dollars have been poured into anti-crime programs since President Johnson, but no one can truthfully tell you it has made one iota of impact. There is still an unusually brutal amount of crime, with people waiting months, years for adjudication," he said.

The court backlog reduces the public's faith in the justice system and increases fear as citizens constantly read stories of repeat offenders being put back on the streets awaiting trial, he said.

Others agreed that fear is depriving citizens of their freedom of movement and offered a variety of suggestions to ease that fear through community action and a faster, more responsive court system.

* Written by Kit Miniclier

"Fear of crime is creating mental and emotional damage" among senior citizens, the handicapped, and children, said State Representative Federico Pena, D-Denver. Pena, 34, and "fairly athletic," admits to being nervous if he sees someone approaching him on the street late at night. "Ten years ago I wouldn't have noticed."

Denver City Council President Bill Roberts agreed, adding: "It is time to reclaim the streets. Many people feel they can't go out after dark, essentially turning the streets over to criminal elements."

However, fear of retribution from street gangs prevents many people from even calling the police, said State Representative Kathy Speltz, R-Lakewood, who chairs the Colorado House Judiciary Committee.

"Retribution can be swift and sure. There is a giant intimidation program. When citizens stay inside, behind their locked doors, shaking in fear, then the criminals have won. We must be willing to stand up and fight ... that is why neighborhood groups are so important. If they separate us and divide us, we don't have a chance," she said.

A random Denver Post poll of some of those involved in fighting crime and others seeking to allay public fear produced these suggestions:

° Change state law to require a "speedy trial" within 90 days instead of the present six months. Provide trials the next day for suspects in such clear cases as a purse-snatching in a public place where several witnesses apprehend the snatcher with the evidence within minutes.

° Encourage victims of crimes, and newsmen, to be present at sentencing hearings so that the sentencing judge "hears the horror of the crime" anew from the victim and the public learns the sentence im-posed by the judge.

° Require parents of convicted juveniles to reimburse taxpayers for at least some of the cost of imprisonment and require inmates to contribute to the costs of their incarceration, which currently costs taxpayers the annual equivalent of a year's college tuition for each prisoner.

° Change the law to permit aggrieved citizens to more easily sue municipal employees and the city involved in cases where police clearly violate constitutional rights, and impose fines for such violations.

° Upgrade teaching in Denver's public school system to prepare students better for college or jobs, in hopes of keeping them from turning to crime. Denver police say most home burglaries are committed by juveniles.

Those interviewed agreed that the most effective way to prevent residential burglaries -- Denver's major crime -- is to expand the neighborhood programs, programs where residents in each block watch over the neighborhood and call police when they see suspicious activities.

But Denver District Attorney Dale Tooley said there are other ways to whittle away at the fear of crime, by speeding up court procedures and making sure that crime victims are in court for the actual sentencing, reminding the judge of the horror of the crime.

He said the citizens's fears grow when he tells neighborhood meetings that a suspect arrested in a victims's living room at 3 a.m. may well be out on bond before the victim leaves for the office that morning. The victim becomes further agitated as the defense attorney wins repeated delays before the trial, he added, noting it isn't unusual for a convicted criminal to appear 14 times in court on the same charge before sentencing.

Tooley acknowledged that heavy court loads pressure prosecutors to negotiate plea-bargaining -- in which a suspect will confess to a single crime rather than face trial on several charges.

City Councilwoman Kathy Donahue suggested that Denver "bring 15 judges out of retirement" to clean up the backlog and speed up the administration of justice, helping ease fears that the victim's attacker still is roaming the streets.

The presiding judge of the criminal division of the 2nd Judicial District in Denver, Leonard Plank, agreed. He suggested the law be changed to require trial within 90 days instead of the present six months "except in extraordinary cases, such as a ruptured appendix on the part of the defendant or victim," or in the case of a major crime involving several victims.

He estimated that extra judges would be needed only for perhaps a year to clear up the resulting backlog. Abolishing the practice, of plea-bargaining -- which he noted has been done in Alaska -- is an ideal to work toward in the interest of reassuring the public, he said.

Both Plank and Judge Daniel Sparr said a new state law, effective on July 1, should reduce the time needed for jury selection by reducing the number of challenges permitted by both prosecuting and defense attorneys. In the past, jury selection sometimes took longer than the actual trial.

Montoya, a veteran of 31 years of police work, expressed impatience with the long delays between arrest and trial.

"The whole essence of justice lies in truth: either he committed the crime or he didn't. I don't know why we can't arrest a guy and have the trial the next day" if the evidence is clear, there are witnesses and the man is caught in the act.

Montoya said lawyers ask for repeated postponements of the trial until the "the perception of the crime has been distorted" and victims and witnesses lose interest. "This is a lawyer's world ... the whole judicial system revolves around what lawyers want and do.

"Somewhere along the line the victim must be considered in equal terms." Records show there were 10,900 burglaries in Denver through July 2 of this year, compared with fewer than 8,500 during the same period last year.

Montoya said the breakdown of strong family life in America, with parents surrendering the responsibility of developing character to the schools, Army or college, has left a freewheeling society "where youth want everything 'NOW, today and my way,' with no respect for their country, neighborhood or parents and feel free to bully society ... until they meet a cop."

He said Denver's 1,375-member police force made 4,004 felony arrests and about 25,000 misdemeanor arrests in the first half of this year. "But I'll bet you not more than 10 percent will ever get filed. The courts can't handle the caseload."

Police officers have a frustrating role, agrees Jesse Manzanares, currently on leave of absence from the University of Denver's College of Law and a former Chairman of the Board of the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Good police officers get frustrated and those who are "psychologically weak become terrible police officers," he said.

Manzanares sympathized with the police. "You take a 21-year-old rookie, try to teach him about the Constitution, which he may not know or care about, and then someone calls him a 'pig.' They can't be expected to know and understand all the laws and cases."

But he said the law should be changed to encourage citizens whose rights are violated by the police to sue both the city and the individuals, and fines should be imposed to protect constitutional safeguards.

Manzaneras, who taught law for nine years and who served as one of Denver's three civil service commissioners from 1972 to 1979, said mandatory sentencing "isn't the panacea some of our legislators would like to think it is. It simply isn't going to reduce crime" because most persons who commit crimes don't plan to be caught, he said.

"But it has made prisoners (at the state prison) at Canon City feel a little better. It's reduced speculation and gossip over the previous differences in their sentences" for the same crime, he said.

Lawmaker Pena says crime may get worse because the public school "are doing a poor job of preparing future generations" for job opportunities in an increasingly technical society, turning out graduates who lack security and an opportunity for success in life.

"There are a lot of young people who are out of work, depressed and have absolutely nothing to do ... the public educational system is barely catching up and not preparing people for the future."

Parents of juvenile offenders should be held financially liable for the costs of their incarceration, and adult prisoners should contribute to the taxpayers' cost of maintaining them in prison, Carol Reynolds believes.

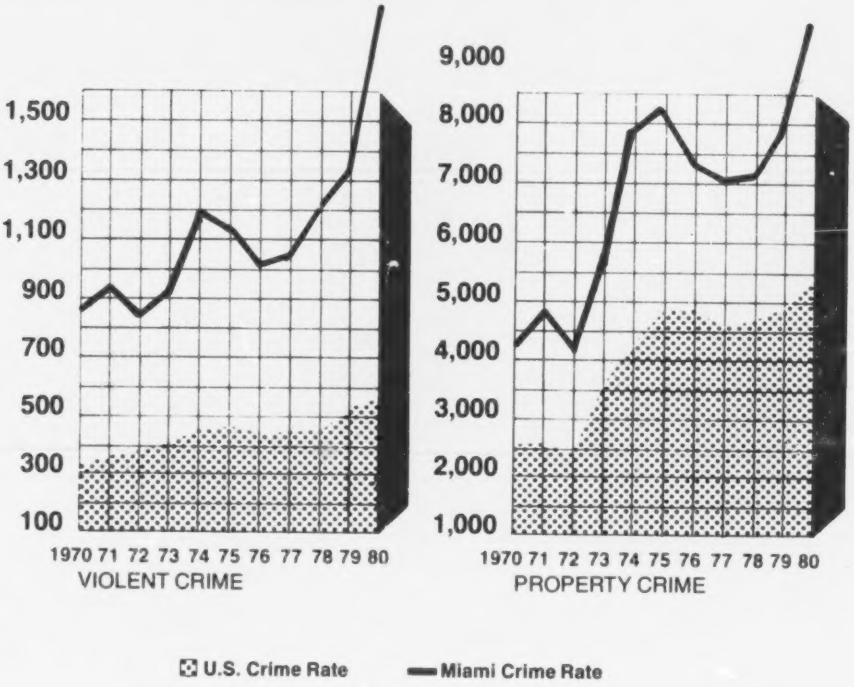
Reynolds is a resident of northeast Denver who is working to develop a program based in the Greater Park Hill section of Denver to track what happens to crime victims and suspects in given cases. She strongly criticizes the juvenile court system.

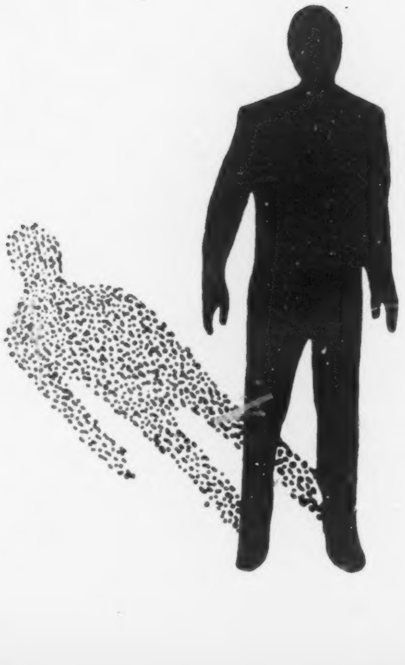
It focuses on protecting the interests of the juvenile, talking to his parents, teachers and social workers -- rather than focusing on the crime he is accused of committing, she said.

Police have told her that 80 percent of the residential burglaries in Park Hill are committed by juveniles. "Sometimes these are street-savvy hardened little individuals, although they may be legally minors."

Miami, Florida

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





MIAMI, FLORIDA

Prepared by the Miami News*

Fear is pervasive in Dade. You can see it -- and feel it -- on the streets, in the suburbs, behind the counters of convenience stores. Frightened citizens bar their windows, buy guns for protection, talk about leaving town for someplace safe.

Violent crime is more than a soaring statistic. It's no longer just a news story about some faceless victim. It has become real to Dade Countians -- as real as the friend who was mugged or the neighbor who was burglarized or the shopkeeper who was robbed at gunpoint.

People are angry. And frightened. They complain about the lack of police protection. They curse lenient judges. They ask why nothing is being done.

How did we reach this point? Is anything really being done? Are officials aware of the public's mounting concern?

This is what's being asked of local leaders.

And yes, officials here are sensitive to the citizens' fears regarding crime. They're aware that fear has created a new way of life for many.

Nonetheless, they differ on what's causing it and what to do about it.

There is wide agreement that people in Dade County are becoming afraid to go out at night, of visiting big shopping centers, of driving through some ghetto areas even in the daytime.

"I'm afraid to let my daughters go shopping," says Howard Rasmussen, executive director of the Citizens Crime Commission of Greater Miami. "I'm concerned about my wife being out at night."

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* Written by Verne Williams

The fear of stumbling into crime and being victimized has changed the lifestyles of Miamians -- and has cost them money as well, says Miami City Manager Howard Gary.

"I think people are cautious about where they go and when they go," says Gary. "I think it also has affected the economics of families in terms of money spent on security such as alarm systems and bars on the doors."

The frequency of muggings in downtown parking lots has even changed the work pattern of our judicial system.

"We try not to keep jurors working late," says chief Dade Circuit Court Judge Gerald Wetherington. "If we do have to, we take special precautions such as having them escorted to their cars."

But some officials close to the crime picture feel that the average law-abiding citizen is in far less danger from violent crime than he or she thinks. Fear of crime is larger than life, they say.

"The public feels there is more crime than there actually is," says Miami Police Chief Kenneth Harms. "We have people who are concerened to the point of buying guns, big dogs and alarm systems. People become prisoners of their own fear."

Dade Circuit Court Judge Seymour Gelber, an authority on juvenile crime, points out that where you live has a great deal to do with your chance of becoming a victim. Murder and assault still are rare in prosperous suburbs like Miami Shores or Coral Gables -- and still common in inner-city areas and the Liberty City ghetto.

Nonetheless, the fear exists all over town, Gelber says.

"There has been a dramatic change in our lifestyle," Gelber says. "It is almost like the old settlers worrying about Indian attacks."

With the murder rate in Dade having doubled, and with the May 1980 race riots, Dade made worldwide headlines of the worst sort. The tourism industry here suffered for it.

And residents became more and more uneasy.

In Dade, preliminary FBI figures showed a 30 per cent jump in serious crimes reported in 1980. Miami alone had a 96 per cent jump in three separate categories -- murder, rape and robbery.

"We've been hurt as a tourist center and we have to solve the problem," said Dade County Manager Merrett Stierheim. "Whether we like it or not we are fair game for the national news media."

Dade leaders differed on whether or not the local media overplayed the crime problem here, fueling the public's fears.

"I think there is an overemphasis or willingness to sensationalize crime as a kind of reaction to what the consumers want to read," said Metro Police Director Bobby Jones -- a comment typical of the critics. "On the other hand, I think newspapers and the media do have an obligation to try to point out community problems."

Others felt the news media in Dade painted an accurate picture of crime in Dade, and even used restraint. Among those with this view was Dr. Marvin Dunn, university professor and outspoken black leader.

"I think the press has used restraint. This community is one in which the press, if it chose, could plaster front pages with stories and photos of crime," Dunn said. "If anything, what the press has not done is the job of in-depth reporting that would help the community move toward change and improvement."

But Dade leaders were unanimous in pointing to one scapegoat. They placed much of the blame for Dade's jump in violent crime on the failure of the federal government to cope with two massive problems:

The wave of Cuban criminals from Castro's jails who came in the Mariel sealift, and the use of Miami as a hub by the billion-dollar narcotics smuggling industry.

Among the 115,000 Cuban refugees who arrived here from Mariel were scores of hardcore or mentally ill criminals who promptly started their own crime wave. They clogged Dade's jail and at least 25 Mariel refugees were involved as either perpetrators or victims in 1980's record homicide rate.

Meanwhile, execution-style killings in the narcotics traffic left bodies strewn from canals in the Dade boondocks to the parking lots of shopping centers. Police attributed at least 107 murders in Dade last year, including 34 Colombians, to drug wars.

"The flow of drugs from foreign countries is a prime cause of crime here," says Metro Mayor Steve Clark. "And the Mariel refugee problem was caused by a breakdown in immigration control by the federal government."

Another target of criticism is Dade's criminal-justice system. Some community leaders described it as "bankrupt" and "overloaded to the point of dysfunction." Several said the courts are so overloaded with cases that hardened criminals are put back on the street with barely a tap on the wrists.

"The criminal justice system is bankrupt," said Dunn, who blamed taxpayers for an unwillingness to pay the tab. "It only gives the appearance of responding to crime in the community. People who commit crimes like burglary know the chance of going to jail is slim. There's no reason for them to stop when they have no reason to feel they will be punished."

Dunn, who heads a project to rescue school dropouts, says he used to believe that poverty was a major cause of crime. Now he thinks the answer lies elsewhere. "If you go down to the Dade County

Jail you will be hard-put to find people who stole because they were hungry," Dunn says.

Crime Commission head Rasmussen also believes the courts need help: "The criminal justice system is inundated. It doesn't have the resources. It doesn't do us any good to hire more police if we can't prosecute the people they arrest. It doesn't do any good to prosecute if we don't have the correctional facilities and programs to handle those who are convicted."

On the other hand, those working in the criminal-justice system tended to feel it was coping rather well, considering all the problems in Dade County.

"We have had some tremendous stresses, from the riots to the Mariel refugees," said Judge Wetherington. "We have attempted to respond by increasing the number of judges assigned to criminal court and with backup judges to handle special cases."

Dade State Attorney Janet Reno also feels the system did well under extreme pressure.

"During the same months the caseload was increasing so drastically, the system itself was under attack in the McDuffie case," Reno pointed out. "The fact that the system itself has responded as well as it has is a remarkable thing to me."

Reno noted that in recent months there has been an encouraging trend toward providing more money for additional police, prosecutors and judges. Metro police were promised 500 new officers this year and the state Legislature gave Reno funds for 25 new prosecutors.

Officials who were interviewed offered widespread praise for the Citizens Crime Watch system in which individual police departments help neighborhoods organize to report suspicious incidents. "It brings the neighbors together so they get a feeling for watching out for each other," says Rasmussen.

Are there other steps we can take to cut crime? Everyone agreed we need even more police, more prosecutors and more jails.

Another needy area cited was the Florida juvenile justice system, which seems unable to cope with all the youthful offenders. New ways are needed to reach children early before they become hardened young muggers and burglars, said both Reno and Gelber.

"The courts are not going to change the behavior of people once they become adult offenders," Reno said. "We need early intervention for those that exhibit early signs of delinquency."

Another major problem that needs a new infusion of ideas is the war against drug traffickers. Chief Jones suggests a strong education program to "dry up the marketplace" for illegal drugs.

"If people don't use it, traffickers can't sell it," he says. "This community has to understand up front that the narcotics traffic creates an atmosphere in which citizens do not obey our other laws."

Miami Police Chief Harms wants a new approach to gun ownership. Make it a privilege like a driving license, he suggests.

For instance, give tests to would-be handgun buyers to see whether they understand the "legal and moral implications" of the use of deadly force.

"The whole key is to make sure the qualified law-abiding citizen can have a gun and the lawless cannot," says Harms.

And quit playing legal games with those who break the law, Harms added. There are too many loopholes, too many delays, too many technicalities, many said.

"We are going to have to have sanctions and we are going to have to adhere to them -- we must shut down the escape hatches," said

Harms. "Unless we insist that those we arrest have to pay a price for criminal behavior, then I cannot predict a decline in crime. Right now they escape sanctions with a frequency that leaves them feeling that crime pays and it carries no penalty."

The pendulum of judicial rulings has swung away from the public interest toward the "rights" of the criminal, said Dunn. We must bring it back to the middle, he says, without swinging too far the other way.

Survey Finds Most People Take Steps Against Crime

Precautions against crime have become as routine as plugging in a coffee pot, a permanent factor in the quality of American life. The following questions were asked of 1.047 persons in a national survey. Yes answers indicate persons who take the listed precautions most of the time or some of the time.

When going out, do you...

Lock car doors to keep intruders out?
Yes: 70%
Dress plainly to avoid attention?
Yes: 60%
Call someone to say you're leaving or have arrived safely?
Yes: 60%
Plan routes to avoid dangerous areas?
Yes: 47%
Go out after dark only with companion because of crime?
Yes: 34%
Take protection at night -- a gun, whistle, dog, etc?
Yes: 25%

When going away, do you ...

Have someone watch your home?
Yes: 82%
Stop delivery of papers, mail or have them picked up?

Yes: 69%

Set timers to turn lights on and off?

Yes: 26%

To protect your home, do you...

Always lock doors when you leave?

Yes: 87%

Identify people before letting them in?

Yes: 86%

Own a gun?

Yes: 52%

Have extra locks on doors?

Yes: 51%

Engrave valuables with identification?

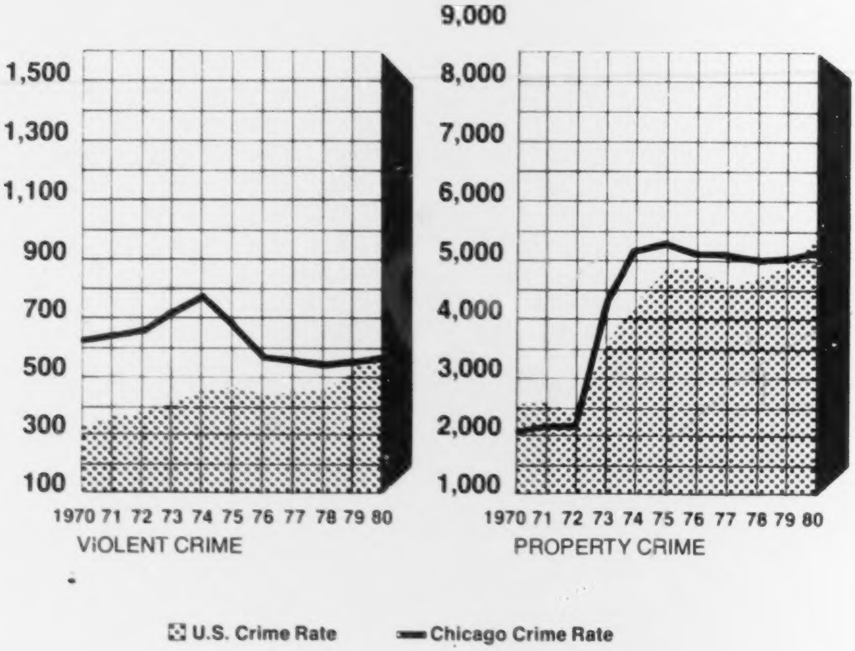
Yes: 36%

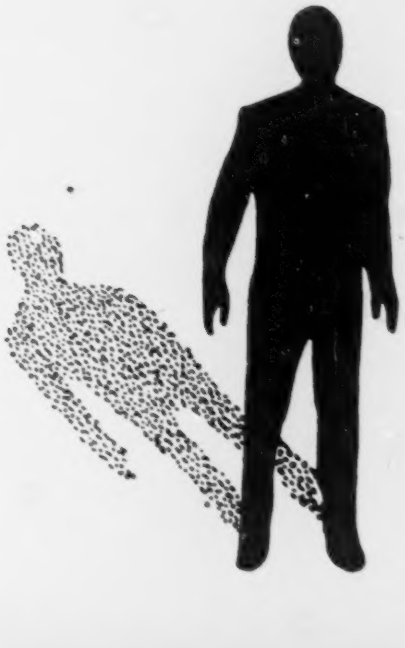
Have burglar alarms?

Yes: 15%

Chicago, Illinois

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

Prepared by the Chicago Sun Times*

The boasts and criticisms and controversy that surrounds the Guardian Angels do not matter in what the crime experts dub the "no man's land" of mass transit.

What matters is perceptions--of order, an added margin of safety--a fear of crime pacifier the Angels can provide for the 2.8 million passengers a week on CTA rapid transit lines.

It is perhaps the greatest and least mentioned contribution the Guardian Angels can make in Chicago.

"The Guardian Angels will never, ever make a large number of arrests. There will never be a measurable impact on the crime rate that can be attributed to the patrols," said Richard Shapiro, community relations director for the New York City Police Department.

"That's not very sexy for Angel recruitment, or for the media, but it's true," said Shapiro, speaking only of New York Angels where the crime-fighters originated. "We feel prevention is their strong point, which is impossible to measure. But what's going to happen on the train with eight big guys in uniform standing there?"

Although it has yet to happen in Chicago, Angels do make citizen's arrests. That is the major stumbling block in recognition from City Hall where liability is feared as much as vigilantism.

One of the shortcomings documented in a three-month investigation by the Sun-times was that Guardian Angel founder Curtis Sliwa's promise to Chicago to thoroughly train recruits in the law was never followed through.

* Written by Michael Cordts

Fewer than half of the 40 graduates underwent legal training, pointing up a lack of local leadership and Sliwa's problems with quality control as chapters are franchised across the nation. Chicago was the 29th; three months previous there were 15.

Police Superintendent Richard J. Brzeczek said endorsement of the group could open police to liability if Angels made a false arrest or used excessive force in a citizen's arrest.

Police policy is to forbid any civilian group to make arrests, such as citizens band radio patrols operating in 35 neighborhoods with police approval. They serve as "eyes and ears" only.

Citizen's arrests may be made by anyone and involve legal complexities that are key to false arrest and brutality lawsuits: search and seizure and the use of the minimum amount of force to affect the arrest.

"Police officers have two years of training and look at the number of abuse cases reported," said Cathy Touhy of the Northeast Austin Organization which operates a radio patrol. "Are kids in berets able to do it right? Who's responsible? Who's liable?"

Chicago recruits were told they are personally responsible, not the chapter, for lawsuits stemming from an arrest or the use of force.

"They have no insurance. They have no solvency," Brzeczek pointed out.

Prior to police endorsement, he said, the Angels must grant police involvement in legal training and background checks "so we're satisfied they are decent, reputable citizens." But insurance, Brzeczek said, is the key.

Brzeczek contends he has never been seriously approached by Sliwa to work out their differences. Sliwa says that isn't so.

The result has been a standoff that put Angels on the streets of Chicago without either the police or the Angels knowing if the local chapter was composed of 40 hoodlums or 40 saints.

It is a replay of New York where three years of charges and countercharges were finally settled May 29 when the Angels and police came to terms.

The agreement provides for six hours of legal training by police, identification cards and background checks on all recruits. Police turned down a request for liability insurance and medical coverage.

Although it designates Angels as agents of the police, it contains a clause releasing police and the city from any responsibility for actions of the group.

The agreement also calls for incident reports to be submitted to police; allowing for the first time to verify claims of success and failure. Through September, 1981 there were 65 incidents--broken down by police as 40 commendable, 17 negative and 8 neutral involving imposters.

The "commendable" incidents resulted in 14 arrests, including leading police to an armed robbery suspect, 7 assault charges stemming from a gang fight and a score of police summonses for disorderly conduct and vandalism.

New York Angels also received 17 summonses, six for unlawfully carrying handcuffs and the remainder for disobeying police orders and smoking in the subways.

The record check of 569 Angels turned up 26 with criminal records--5 percent--even though police were expecting double that. Only six had major arrests, five of whom were expelled by Sliwa.

The lack of insurance is also behind the public hesitance of some transit officials to endorse the Angels. Privately, they are some of the biggest supporters.

"We encourage our members to welcome the Guardian Angels privately, but not officially because of insurance problems," said John B. Schnell, manager of research for the American Public Transit Association. "They do provide a perception of safety."

The crime-plagued and cash-starved Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority serving the Boston area last month granted Angels official recognition.

Angels ride for free on a 72-mile system patroled by 57 transit police officers where robberies last year were up 15 percent and assaults 26 percent.

"We've been concerned about security and because of the budget situation we'd do anything we possibly could to make our passangers feel safer," said spokesman Paul D'Natalie. "Two or three of our angels are Harvard students and we found that rather pleasing."

Crime on the CTA rapid transit lines in 1980 accounted for only 1.09 percent of the city's reported Part I offenses--rape, homicide, robbery, aggravated battery, serious assault, burglary and theft.

Overall, reported Part I offenses have dropped yearly since 1976 with the exception of 1980. There were 212,270 such crimes reported in 1976; 134,263 last year.

But crime is also up on the trains, from 1,264 Part I offenses in 1978 to 2,045 in 1979, 2,128 in 1980 and 1,251 through the first six months of this year. There was one murder in 1978, nine in 79, three in 80 and one so far this year.

"Your're safer on the train than at home, but people don't want to hear that," said Capt. Thomas Connor, newly appointed commander of the police Mass Transit Unit that was shaken up three weeks ago amid charges of loafing and inefficiency.

What really matters to train riders is the 16,434 disorderly conduct arrests in 1980, according to police and Dan Lewis, a student of the fear of crime and researcher with the Center for Urban Affairs at Northwestern University.

Riders initially complain they fear being robbed or mugged, but studies have shown their fear is actually rooted in what Lewis calls "incivilities" that signal lack of control: incoherent riders, drunks, teenagers playing radios, smoking.

Lewis, no fan of the Angel concept, also agrees with police that riders feel safer when uniformed police patrol the CTA, but their fear increases when they see an arrest.

The fact remains that the fear of crime is a public concern and Angels offer a buffer in a society that Attorney General William French Smith says wants to spend more money to fight lawlessness than for national defense.

A Justice Department Survey in 1978 said that 22 percent of Chicagoans felt "very unsafe" being out alone at night in their own neighborhoods.

A survey in 1979 found that up to 60 percent of the residents of some Chicago communities were fearful of using public transportation. Last year, Lewis documented that the fear of crime bears little relation to the crime rate in four Chicago neighborhoods.

A nationwide study, called The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime, found last year that 40 percent of Americans are "highly fearful" of becoming crime victims.

Told of the warm greetings Angel patrols received from CTA riders, Police Superntendent Brzeczek said: "I think those people (riders) feel a vicarious guilt, that crime is everybody's problem but they don't want to get involved.

"At least the Guardian Angels have the courage to do something."

A SAMPLING FROM THE ANGELS MELTING POT

They are an affirmative action dream come true.

Poverty and affluence, college students and high school dropouts, black and red and white and brown, male and female, good jobs and no jobs, red white and blue and clenched fists.

They are Chicago and they are becoming family.

The potential "goon squad" envisioned by Police Superintendent Richard J. Brzeczek had covered dishes in hand and their parents in tow when they were christened the 29th chapter of the Guardian Angels.

Mayor Byrne's "vigilantes" threatened each other with bodily harm if anyone stepped out of line.

They speak of love and there is no blushing. Money and food and clothing are communal property. Several were abused children, others victims of crime.

There are 33 men, seven women, six blacks, a score of Hispanics, 11 college students attending De Paul, Columbia College. Chicago Circle, The Art Institute of Chicago, De Vry Institute of Technology and East-West University.

They pay their own way to patrol the trains, unpaid volunteers who bought their $15 berets and $3.50 T-shirts. They are distressed by the infighting and repeatedly seek compromise and more stringent training.

And they are as curious about what brought them together as any reporter or psychologist.

"This is an interesting mix," Flanagan MacKenzie said at an Angel get-to-know-each-other party. "Everybody had something in them that made it worthwhile. We all profited. I know I expanded myself."

The stated motive of every Angel is to help those who can't help themselves, to prevent crime and stop it if necessary, to be active in their community. But each has a reason behind the reason.

For some, it is not so much a crusade against crime as a street resolve to belong. Others are seeking power in a world where they have non-and probably never will.

Some, like party host and North Side landlord Phoebe Selden, saw a structured fitness program. There was a craving for neighborhood status, the admiration of women.

There are a few who would raise Byrne and Brzeczek to soothsayer status. They privately pound fleshy fists into their hands, grin, and talk of busting heads at the slightest provocation.

A glimpse at Chicago's Angels:

Johnny Villalobos, 21, married, a darkroom assistant at a downtown advertising agency. The Clemente High School graduate and ROTC member was distressed by the vigilante tag, surprised by the number of white recruits. Soft-spoken, mature and one of 10 children, Villalobos could be a cornerstone of the Chicago chapter. The lack of discipline has him on the verge of resigning.

Marilyn Washington, 21, who lives at Robert Taylor Homes with her twin sister and two daughters. Dedicated to making the elderly feel safer on rapid transit lines, she twice jumped CTA turnstyles last week to go on patrol. She finished her junior year at DuSable High School. And she lost her job at a 51st St. liquor store for joining the Angels.

Flanagan MacKenzie, 31, single, the resident philosopher and toughest woman Angel. Employed by the Art Institute of Chicago, where she is a third-year student, she was once booted out of the Angels for criticizing the attitude of one of Sliwa's top aides. Other recruits demanded her reinstatement. "I wonder how many of us will stick this out after six months," she said after a tiring, uneventful patrol.

Ricky Chaco, 17, and his brother, Patricio, 16. The West Siders, known affectionately as part of the "Puerto Rican mafia," are high school dropouts and accomplished street fighters. Pleasant and outgoing, they adorned their red berets with the Puerto Rican flag. Both think the Angels will attract women.

Casimir A. Rincon, 21, married with a child. Known as "Casy," he is a former staff sergeant in the Marine Corps, all business, and favored by many to lead the Chicago Angels. Pleasing Rincon was the incentive for many of the recruits to continue training.

Dunn P. Adams, 19, the No. 3 Chicago Angel who calls himself the chapter's "Radar" after the TV show "MASH." The West Sider, who lost 40 pounds training, is the peacemaker between the warring chapter leaders. He's unemployed, dropped out of college to be with his mother, and once studied theater.

Rhani Fiduccia, 24, single, has one of the more affluent backgrounds, which she describes as "cushy." She studied astrophysics and anthropology at Chicago Circle. The tatooed school bus driver was severely beaten on the South Side during training. She proposed a patrol boycott after the first week on the streets to protest the lack of leadership.

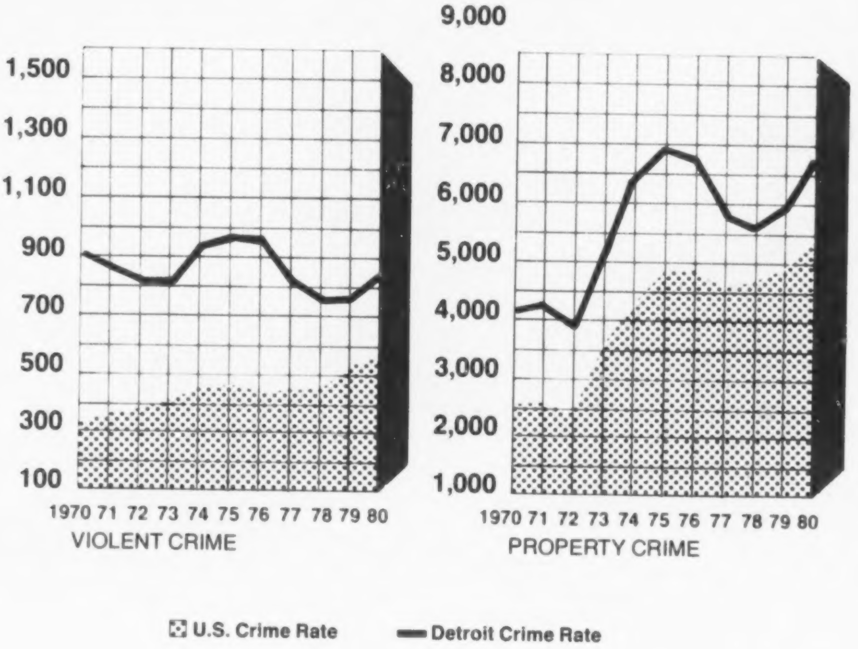
Chicago, Illinois

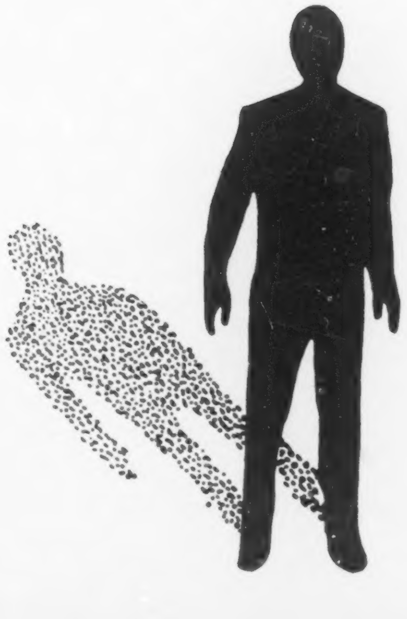
Sandy Workman, 23, married, a tough-talking American Indian interested in taking up body building. A product of the streets, mother of a 5-year-old daughter, and a high school dropout, she joined the Angels to escape the isolation of home.

Clayton Cortes, 21, single, respected for his training in judo, karate and Japanese sword fighting as much as his maturity, self-control and quick smile. A born leader, Cortes is a physical therapy student at Chicago Circle and works at Saint Francis Xavier Cabrini Hospital. A family member was attacked two years ago and he joined "to keep somebody from going through the same terrible experience."

Detroit, Michigan

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Prepared by the Detroit News*

Part I

Mrs. Nellie Crittendon keeps a loaded .22-caliber revolver within arm's reach.

The windows on her ranch-style house in northeast Detroit are protected by steel bars. A burglar alarm helps to protect her house, her sanctity -- her life.

The double-bolt locks on the doors are seldom unlatched.

Beautiful shrubs that once decorated the front lawn have been uprooted because Mrs. Crittendon fears they could provide cover for thugs.

"I don't feel safe anyplace," says the 50-year-old widow, "and I will generally travel with someone when I go out at night."

Mrs. Crittendon is not paranoid and not alone in her fears. She is like millions of typical Americans. She is afraid of crime.

A national study sponsored by A-T-O Inc., a diversified multinational corporation, reveals this startling statistic: Forty percent of all Americans are "highly fearful" that they will become victims of violent crime. A similar number of Americans even feel unsafe in their homes, neighborhoods, shopping centers and business districts.

The study, which included a survey of more than 1,000 citizens across the country, reveals that this fear of crime is pervasive; affecting young and old, rich and poor, city dwellers, suburbanites and those living in rural areas.

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* Written by Gene Schabath

This fear has contributed to the deterioration of cities, suburban flight and the failure of neighborhood businesses.

Significantly, the most visible response to this fear has been "accommodation," acceptance of a national way of life in which a violent crime occurs every 30 seconds.

The Detroit News was invited to participate in a 13-city study based on the national survey. The News and other major newspapers were asked to analyze public attitudes about fear of crime in their areas and what officials feel can be done about the fear.

In examining the fear of crime in the Detroit area, The News interviewed dozens of residents and community leaders and conducted its own telephone survey of 500 tri-county citizens.

Results of The News TelePoll support the national findings. Sixty-five percent of those surveyed by The News said they were somewhat fearful of crime; 20 percent said they were very fearful.

Eighty four percent said they take some sort of crime precaution, ranging from purchasing weapons to locking their car doors or carrying Mace-type sprays when they're away from home.

What emerges from both the national survey, called The Figgie Report, and The News study is a picture of a frightened America, where many people are prisoners in their own homes, afraid to travel freely in their own cities, even walk the streets of their own neighborhoods.

This fear has become an integral part of our daily routine, an indelible mark on the quality of life in America.

Some public officials are reluctant to acknowledge this fear as a social problem; others speak openly of its effect on community life.

"A lot of people are absolutely fearful of going out at night or taking public transportation," said Mrs. Erma Henderson, president of Detroit's City Council.

"Some who have to take public transportation to go to work won't go to work because they don't want to risk their lives."

"It's sad to say that fear prevents some from attending many of the cultural events in the city, like those at the Hart Plaza. They stay confined to their homes, where they feel they are safer."

The problem goes far beyond Michigan.

"Fear of crime is slowly paralyzing American society," said Dr. John Crothers Pollock, director of research for Research and Forecasts Inc., a firm which helped conduct the Figgie study last fall. "Americans today have become afraid of one another."

"I try to come home before dark and I try to come home with someone," Mrs. Crittendon said. "I always make sure I let my neighbors know when I'm going out and when I'm coming home so they can watch for me. The biggest fear I have is being outside and someone catching me coming into my house."

According to statistics compiled in The Figgie Report, Mrs. Crittendon fits into four categories of people who have the highest fear of crime. She lives in a large city, is black, a woman, a widow.

"Victimization can be regarded as the most powerful (factor) in explaining why some people take more precautions than others. Groups identified as highly victimized -- women, blacks, and residents of large cities -- are most likely to take precautions." - From The Figgie Report.

In downriver Wyandotte, Mark Wheeler's business is selling burglar alarms. Because of increasing suburban crime, it's a profitable -- booming -- business.

"We have a residential division of our business that's just exploded. We've tripled business in a year," Wheeler said.

Customers range from factory workers in Wyandotte to doctors and lawyers on Grosse Ile.

"It used to be that all the customers were victims but now it's about half who have been victims and half who have fear. I'd say half of those who have alarms installed even turn them on when they're home. They don't even feel safe in their own homes."

But, for one out of every three adults in the Detroit area, The News TelePoll shows, precaution and protection comes in a different form: a handgun. That percentage, however, is less than national figures -- which show that more than half the homes in the country contain guns.

One Detroit area judge said more citizens are buying guns because they feel police, courts and prisons no longer are capable of protecting society.

"People I know who never had the slightest idea of ever owning a gun are buying guns and taking lessons on how to use them," said Macomb Circuit Court Chief Judge George R. Deneweth, who is also president of the Michigan Judges Association.

"These people are taking the law into their own hands. It's like the days of the Old West. Government couldn't protect people so they formed vigilante groups and took the law into their own hands."

"These fears spring from a lifetime of hearing about, reading about and seeing reports of crime -- and perhaps having the experience of being a victim oneself." - From The Figgie Report.

Melvindale resident Dennis Balaskas said he had expected to become a crime victim "sooner or later" because of the exposure the news media has given to crime -- and also because relatives and neighbors have been victims.

Balaskas said he learned to keep his car doors locked while traveling at night because of an experience his late father-in-law had eight years ago.

"He was coming back from the Windsor race track. He stopped at a red light and two guys jumped in his car and robbed him," said Balaskas, the recreation director for Melvindale. "My brother-in-law owns a bar and has been robbed five times in the last few years. The last time was in broad daylight, when he was coming back from the bank."

Last November it was Balaskas' turn. Burglars broke into his house, stole his TV, jewelry and cash. He installed a burglar alarm and boarded up his basement windows. But the fear is still there. For his wife, it's worse.

"She's afraid to stay home alone. She now goes to (night) meetings with me." Balaskas said. "When we leave home, we now make sure to tell our neighbors. I don't leave the house without putting on the alarm. We even set the alarm when we go to bed."

"This survey shows that 55 percent of women fear being raped..."
- From The Figgie Report.

Betty T. has that fear but it's more acute than other women, for obvious reasons. Betty was raped and brutally beaten outside her home on the east side of Detroit. The beating has seriously affected her eyesight. The emotional scars may never heal.

Betty keeps a butcher knife and a watchdog at her side when home alone.

Betty said that in her conversations with other women she detects that most have a "general fear" of being raped.

"That's why women don't like to go to the store alone at night or walk in the park," she said.

"Suburbanites appear more profoundly affected by reports of crime than those living elsewhere. Yet, when they are back on their own 'turf,' they feel relatively safe..." - From the Figgie Report.

Twenty-five miles from downtown Detroit, in suburban Fraser, insurance salesman James DeYonker relaxes in his air-conditioned condominium. It is a peaceful day in a peaceful housing complex.

DeYonker, 59, has little fear in his own community. Once outside his peace zone, however, it's a different matter.

DeYonker has a profound fear of traveling to Detroit. "But once I'm back on this side of 8 Mile Road," he says, "I lose that fear."

"I have only been to downtown Detroit once during the last 15 or 20 years. ... It was during the day and I parked as close as I could to the Renaissance Center."

DeYonker says he always drives with his car doors locked and will try to avoid going to Detroit even to see a client. He arranges to meet customers in suburban East Detroit.

"But even if I lived in East Detroit, I'd be a lot more cautious than out here. I don't even like to go to Eastland (shopping center)."

Senior citizens living on the far east side are similarly cautious. Most can't afford burglar alarms but they improvise.

"Some have their windows nailed shut," said Sister Catherine Crittendon (not related to Nellie Crittendon), coordinator of a government home-delivered meal program for the elderly.

"Many have six locks on their doors. It takes them five minutes to get their doors unlocked so they can get their meals."

The News' Telepoll

The Detroit News Research Department asked the following questions of 500 adults in Wayne, Oakland and Macomb counties.

1. A national survey showed 40 percent of Americans have high fear of crime. How would you describe your feelings about crime . . .
  A. Very fearful: 20%
  B. Somewhat fearful: 65%
  C. Not fearful: 15%

2. Do you have specific fear, such as the fear of being robbed, murdered, raped or assaulted?
  A. Yes: 55%
  B. No: 45%

3. Do you have a general (formless) fear, such as being home alone at night or going to unfamiliar places at night?
  A. Yes: 53%
  B. No: 47%

4. Do you take any precautions when you're away from home, for example, locking your doors when driving . . . or carrying a Mace-type spray . . . or a whistle?
  A. Yes: 84%
  B. No: 16%

5. Do you or anyone in your family own a gun?
  A. Yes: 36%
  B. No: 62%
  C. Refused: 2%

6. If yes, is the gun primarily for protection?
  A. Yes: 52%
  B. No: 48%

7. Is there any area within a mile of your home where you would be afraid to walk alone at night?
  A. Yes: 43%
  B. No: 54%
  C. Don't know: 3%

8. Have you been a victim of crime . . . do you personally know anyone who has been a victim?
  A. Yes: 59%
  B. No: 41%

9. Has there been an increase in violent crime in your neighborhood during the last year?
  A. Yes: 26%
  B. No: 64%
  C. Don't know: 10%

10. In your opinion, will the nationwide crime rate increase or decrease in the next 10 years?
  A. Increase: 78%
  B. Decrease: 13%
  C. Don't know: 9%

Detroit, Michigan

Crime is one of the main topics that the elderly discuss with workers who deliver the meals. They talk of friends who have been robbed or beaten. Some accounts are first-person.

"Blacks are more inclined to take precautions than whites. For example, 78 percent say they dress plainly to avoid drawing attention to themselves."

Detroiter Janice Harbin, a 27-year-old black dentist, wears blue jeans when she goes out shopping or to an informal dinner at a restaurant. She seldom wears jewelry.

Miss Harbin says she dresses conservatively, like wearing jeans, "so no one will know I'm a professional. They think I'm a student."

Miss Harbin takes other precautions. She avoids going out alone at night, drives with her car doors locked in certain areas of the city and will telephone ahead to her mother or sister when she's coming home.

"If I'm home alone, I'll lock the doors and even close the windows."

Miss Harbin is thinking about buying a handgun.

"I know a doctor who was shot and robbed," she said. "It hit close to home. I talked with my brothers about getting a gun and getting some training on how to use it."

Her aunt, Louise Bush, lives in quiet Belleville, 25 miles west of Miss Harbin's office. Mrs. Bush has wrought iron bars on her windows, a wrought iron gate on her double-locked front door and a burglar alarm system in her ranch home.

"We had a burglary here last year," Mrs. Bush said. "We were only gone three hours. They really tore the place up. I feel safer with the bars on the windows and the burglar alarm."

"Crime and the fear of crime, like a dye, has permeated the fabric of American life. Yet the change has occured so gradually, so insiduously, that society has accepted it." - From The Figgie Report.

Detroit City Councilman David Eberhard agrees.

"We had eight murders this weekend but no one's alarmed," Eberhard said. "Years back that would have been an alarming total.

"It shows that people just take crime for granted. But it goes beyond apathy," he said. "It's as if people are saying: 'I don't care that someone got killed.'

"It's a way of life."

Tomorrow: What can be done?

DETROIT, MICHIGAN

Prepared by the Detroit News*

Part II

How can society remedy the fear of crime, which, like a dark dye, has stained the fabric of American society?

There is a sure, exact solution: Eliminate crime. Stop the murders, beatings, rapes, robberies, burglaries, and you also stop their residual effect -- the silent, creeping fear that infects cities, suburbs, towns and farms.

But the relentless rise in the crime rate over the last four decades and its multitude of causes contribute to a sense of helplessness, not a sense of hope.

Polls conducted by The Detroit News and a national research firm show that most Americans do not believe the criminal justice system can protect society. About 80 percent feel crime and the fear of crime will continue to climb.

"American optimism appears dampened, American ability to act rendered ineffective, American communities split apart," according to The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime. "Fear of violent crime seems to have made the country helpless, incapable of dealing with the source of its fears."

Are there realistic answers that can replace the guard dogs, home burglar alarms, Mace-type sprays, double-bolt locks and loaded guns?

Many Detroit area leaders concede that the criminal justice system often reflects a sense of paralysis in dealing with rising crime. But most remain hopeful, at least publicly.

* Written by Gene Schabath

They offer a variety of generalized solutions, from increased police presence to tougher courts and prisons to curing unemployment. Specific programs, however, are few.

"The reasons for the fear are many, and one of them is that there is no punishment for individuals who are caught," said Oakland County Prosecutor L. Brooks Patterson.

"The system is just not working. In 1979, there were 562,000 major felonies committed in Michigan and we (law enforcement agencies) solved 89 percent. But we incarcerated only 3,831. That's an incarceration rate of .0069 percent."

Patterson recently started a statewide petition drive to impose the death penalty in first-degree murder cases, and is strongly supporting proposed legislation that would result in an additional five-year prison term for anyone convicted of a crime against a senior citizen.

"I am advocating bringing back into focus, and into balance, the rights of the victims," he said.

Patterson isn't alone in his views.

Eighty-nine percent of those interviewed in the national survey favored mandatory prison terms for persons convicted of violent crimes; 86 percent favored long prison terms for people found quilty of violent crimes.

The president of the Michigan Judges Association agrees.

"We have to get back to the idea that a guy who commits a crime is going to pay for it," said Macomb Executive Judge George R. Deneweth. "The liberals in the Corrections Department and the high court have lost sight of the fact that prisoners are supposed to be punished. The public is demanding that they be put away. People feel there are too many rights for the criminal and not enough for society."

Deneweth said one change he would make would be to abolish the "automatic appeal" allowed to persons convicted of a crime.

"Getting rid of the automatic appeal makes punishment more certain," he said. "When the criminal knows he's going to be punished, he'll take a second look before he commits a crime."

Deneweth says he doesn't see the fear of crime abating "unless we get effective law enforcement and put the criminals behind bars and keep them there."

Another reason for the increase in crime and the fear of crime is the "unlimited discretion" in sentencing criminals given to trial judges by the state Legislature, said Wayne County Prosecutor William Cahalan.

"We need mandatory minimum sentences for specific crimes," Cahalan said, "such as a minimum term of 10 years for rape; with that, judges won't have the discretion they do now."

Wayne Circuit Court Judge Richard Dunn believes the state appellate courts dwell too much on the rights of criminals and not the public.

"How many criminals are roaming the streets because of a technicality?" Dunn asked. "It's not because they didn't get a fair trial."

Dunn, who will take over as chief executive judge of both Wayne Circuit and Detroit Recorder's courts in September, sees other problems that affect lawlessness and the fear it generates.

"The ultimate answer would be to educate and train the great bulk of people who commit the bulk of the violent crimes," he said. "The great bulk of the people who parade before me are somewhat impoverished. They came from the ghetto; they don't have skills to get a job, so they turn to crime to provide for themselves."

Dunn blames the Michigan prison system, too.

"All they're doing is warehousing people," he said. "The prison system has to teach them to read and write and vocational skills so they can get a job when they get out."

Dunn contends that the "greatest single factor" that will determine what the next decade will be like in terms of crime, is the economy.

"When the economy dips, crime increases," Dunn said.

Detroit City Council President Erma Henderson also sees a cor-relation between crime and jobs.

"I've heard some stable people say they're not going to go hungry," Mrs. Henderson said. "And we've reached the point where a lot of people are hungry because they don't have jobs to buy food."

Mrs. Henderson said that fear of crime is decreasing in Detroit, but she is apprehensive that "rising unemployment and cutbacks in social programs will cause people to fight back in the only way they know how -- to steal to get money to eat."

The council president feels the fear of crime has decreased because of programs started by Police Chief William Hart in the last five years, especially the "Neighborhood Watch" program, crime prevention seminars, precinct mini-stations and affirmative action, which has put more black officers on the street.

These programs have resulted in breaking down the longtime distrust the black community has had of police, she explained.

"They had a fear of police and the people wouldn't call police if they saw a crime," Mrs. Henderson said. "The affirmative-action program has closed the gap. The citizens are now working better with police."

Chief Hart agrees.

"We set out to do something about it and people soon realized that the fear of crime was greater than the incidents of crime," he said, claiming that the Neighborhood Watch program in a 150-block area around Rosedale Park reduced crime by 50 percent.

Wyandotte Police Chief William Lillienthal paints a less rosy picture and predicts that the fear of crime will increase, particularly in large cities, because of police layoffs.

"This is one of the most dangerous times in our history," said Lillienthal, a police veteran of 35 years. "With reduced patrol strengths, they will have no one out there. They have to get the police back out there.

"The criminals will hit you where you're weak, and Detroit will be particularly vulnerable."

Lillienthal adds that the fear of crime will increase in America as long as "criminals get treated the way they do. Some criminals have two or three felony convictions and they get probation. I think we have to put them in the slammer ... it's time we show concern for the victims."

Lilliental agrees with Chief Hart on one point: The effectiveness of Neighborhood Watch and crime prevention seminars with neighborhood groups. Wyandotte has had the program for five years and it has helped reduce crime, Lillienthal said.

Detroit Councilman David Eberhard called programs like Neighborhood Watch "a bunch of malarkey ... a security blanket" and contends the answer to fighting crime is using more beat offficers.

Oakland Prosecutor Patterson feels that pressure from the public will have a dramatic effect on reducing lawlessness and the fear of crime during the next decade.

"We've already seen a retrenchment of the public in the last few years. We've backed up, turned the other cheek and now we're saying 'No more.'"

From most citizens and elected officials, the words of outrage flow freely. Converting words into specific programs, however, is a different matter.

All agree that the renaissance of America's cities, the peace of mind of its citizens, depends on doing precisely that.

Coping with crime:

Precautions against crime have become as routine as plugging in a coffee pot, a permanent factor in the quality of American life. The following questions were asked of 1,047 persons in a national survey. Yes answers indicate persons who take the listed precautions most of the time or some of the time.

When going out, do you . . .

- Lock car doors to keep intruders out? -- Yes: 70%
- Dress plainly to avoid attention? -- Yes: 60%
- Call someone to say you're leaving/arrived safely? -- Yes: 60%
- Plan routes to avoid dangerous areas? -- Yes: 47%
- Go out after dark only with companion because of crime? -- Yes: 34%
- Take protection at night -- a gun, whistle, dog, etc? -- Yes: 25%

When going away, do you . . .

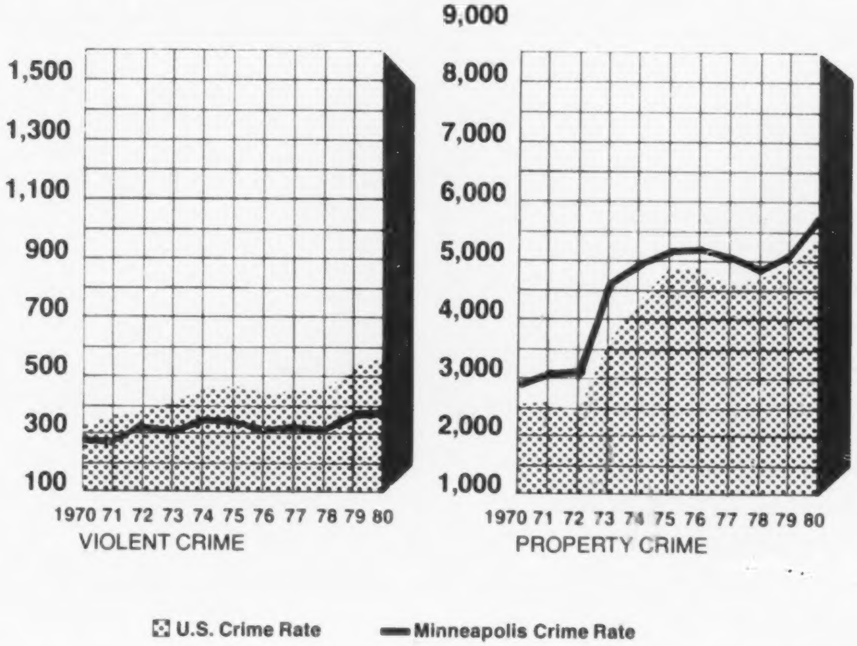
- Have someone watch your home? -- Yes: 82%
- Stop delivery of papers, mail or have them picked up? -- Yes: 69%
- Set timers to turn lights on and off? -- Yes: 26%

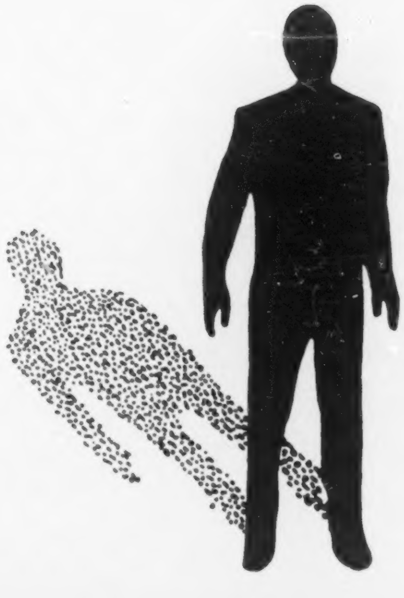
To protect your home, do you . . .

- Always lock doors when you leave? -- Yes: 87%
- Identify people before letting them in? -- Yes: 86%
- Own a gun? -- Yes: 52%
- Have extra locks on doors? -- Yes: 51%
- Engrave valuables with identification? -- Yes: 36%
- Have burglar alarms? -- Yes: 15%
- Have bars on some windows? -- Yes: 8%

Minneapolis, Minnesota

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





MINNEAPOLIS, MINNESOTA

Prepared by the Minneapolis Star*

Few community leaders in Minneapolis believe that swelling ranks of police officers and prosecutors are the answer to dealing with crime. But few believe that anything will be done to deal with what they consider the true cause -- economic conditions.

Willie Bridges, coordinator of the Minneapolis Crime Victims Center, expressed the problem in no-nonsense street language: "People are going to feed their faces no matter what if there aren't any jobs." The city's Police Chief, Anthony V. Bouza, said he would expect an increase in crime over the next decade, because society is "not doing anything about the underlying conditions that cause crime--unemployment, poverty, distribution of wealth, tax structure, and jobs."

Similarly, Thomas Johnson, the district attorney for the county which includes Minneapolis, stressed the need for hope. "By hope, I mean an increase in fact and in people's perception that they will have an opportunity to have an education, a job, a house, those things people feel they want and should have as part of a decent life." And the Rev. Thomas Quigley, executive director of the Greater Minneapolis Council of Churches, agreed: "I think that we need to give much greater attention to the meeting of basic human needs. We seem to be turning away from our commitment to working on the basic ills of the society--racism and classism. To the extent we don't pay attention to those problems, we can expect crime to increase."

The city's mayor, Donald Fraser, a liberal Democrat, also stressed a need to get the economy straightened out and provide more job opportunities, especially for young people. He said it would also help if "families could stay stuck together."

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* Written by David Peterson, Katherine Skiba and Christine Hudgins

A leader of the city's black community, Ron Edwards, believes "we do not any longer have the necessary intellectual wherewithal to deal with some serious social questions related to putting people in the job market and providing every American with an equal standard of living." He predicted a decade of crime prevention programs and harsh law enforcement policies leading to a waiving of Constitutional guarantees and a build-up in the number of penal institutions.

If the economy doesn't improve, however, Mayor Fraser thinks demographics may help. To some extent the crime rate has to do with the number of people between the ages of 16 and 25. "As we move toward the end of the decade I believe the numbers in that age group ought to decline," he said.

The city's Chief Public Defender, William Kennedy, thinks it will also be necessary to revive drug education courses in the schools. He said a previous program, which began at the grade school level, was "the single most effective program I've seen."

Harold Kalina, chief district judge in the county that includes Minneapolis, was the only community leader to stress the role of police in reducing crime. Even Chief Bouza said he felt citizen involvement, and not police action, was the key to reducing crime. Kalina suggested increased police patrols on foot and in squad cars--although, he said, that may be impossible with current city budgets.

Another suggestion would be to increase recognition in the community "that prosecutions and penalities go hand in hand," Kalina said, adding that he feels people should understand they aren't just going to get a slap on the hand when they commit a crime and that, even with the high success rate the courts have had with probation, the fact someone is placed on probation doesn't mean he or she is let off easy.

Bridges, Johnson, Bouza and Helen Kelly, president of the local bar association, all pointed to grassroots efforts to organize neighborhoods and individuals against crime as an important priority for the 1980s.

"Involvement of the people, the public and the criminal justice system--they have to have a partnership to combat crime," said Bridges. "The system owes it to the public to explain the process and the public will report crime to try to combat it. The system is foreign (now to many people): they're reluctant to get involved in it because they don't understand it. They don't realize it can work to their benefit.

Johnson said he felt the community needed a firmness and commitment to the idea that it would no longer tolerate a high level of crime.

"People need to take steps to prevent crime, to stay active in the community, to not isolate themselves in their own home, to take an active role in reporting crime and an active part in an investigation or prosecution that may come about as a result of that. In effect, people will have to be willing to take on sacrifices in terms of time and energy. There are a lot of people now who think, Is it worth it? Why should we do that? Someone else should do that. They have to take the responsibility on."

The only glimmers of hope in the area of fear of crime were reported by Chief Bouza and victim activist Bridges, who said that they felt the neighborhoods in Minneapolis which have organized "block watch" programs have been at least modestly successful in making people feel more secure. Said Bouza:

"Some of the areas that have organized themselves and undertaken neighborhood watch or self-help programs--those communities tend to have lower fear of crime. And you will notice that has nothing to do with the police world." Bridges added that he believes the Southside Neighborhood Crime Prevention program, in which neighbors try to watch out for one another, "has helped a lot to decrease some of the problems."

Others were not as hopeful. Johnson and Edwards said they knew of no neighborhoods in which there is less fear of crime. Kennedy seconded the motion; indeed, he said, "fear is on the increase." To blame for that, he said, are the politicians:

"There are an awful lot of political demagogues running around these days saying, "I'm going to get tough with criminals." Politicians--at the local, state and national level--are solely responsible for the unhealthy fear that most people have about crime. All the media does, by and large, is report what the politicians are saying."

But the city's leading politician, Mayor Fraser, was subdued when the question of whether there was decreasing fear in his city's neighborhoods was put to him. Said Fraser: "I'd be hard put to answer that. It may be that some neighborhoods may feel more secure now than they did. These are intangibles and very difficult to measure."

And Bar President Kelly put it all in perspective when she recalled that during the American Bar Association's 1981 convention in New Orleans, "the local papers were reporting on a daily basis that people shouldn't go into certain areas, even in groups and during the daytime, because of all the assaults and other violent crime. We clearly don't have that urban problem. In fact, I've noticied that in the downtown area, there seems to be a lot of mobility; less reluctance for people to move about by themselves."

Many leaders--including Johnson--say the elderly persons are most seriously afflicted by a fear of crime.

"They're beginning to isolate themselves," said Johnson. "They don't sleep well, they don't go out and visit as much they should or they don't go to the grocery store as much as they would like to.

Others note that because of crime, a person's home isn't a castle--but a fortress. Homes-as well as businesses and churches--are installing security systems, said Kalina, who said that the sale of security devices is "a booming busines now."

"Some people are building a prison around themselves," says Edwards. "Burglary is the biggest thing around, so people build a fortress around themselves thinking it's going to keep people out--even though it doesn't."

People talk about being burglarized "many, many times, and are now spending untold sums of money to make their homes fortresses," said Kelly. Some people gear their lifestyles around their property, "and they have to be home at certain times to turn on their lights, or they get housesitters or they pursue other means of protecting their property."

This is a big change from the years past, according to Kelly, who says that as recently as five years ago, "I would go to a social gathering and rarely hear anyone talking about crime from a personal perspective." And there's been a greater leap from decades past, said Fraser, who believes "people certainly tend to be careful about locking their homes when they leave as compared with 30 years ago."

Still, some Minneapolis leaders--like Bouza, who calls Minneapolis "less affected by fear of crime than almost any city you could think of" -- noted that fear of crime hasn't gripped the city, and added that some measure of fear may be beneficial.

Said Quigley: "I have not sensed that people in this community are paralyzed by fear--to the point that they refuse to go out at night or refuse to go into certain parts of the city. The same, he said, is not true of other communities; and he believes some level of fear may be valuable, in that people are "alert and careful and concerned about each other."

Fraser echoed his sentiments, noting: "I don't think that the fear is out of proportion to the problem. There is a value in some fear in that people are likely to be more careful on the street and in securing and protecting their homes." Once crime goes down, Fraser believes, fear will be alleviated as well.

Johnson said that people must observe what happens in their neighborhoods, and in the event they become witnesses or victims of crime, be willing to assist in the investigation and prosecution of that incident. Kalina agreed, and also wants stepped up law enforcement and "swift and fair prosecution" of crimes.

If fear of crime hasn't been reduced, what of crime itself?

No one in Minneapolis was able to supply a definitive answer. But most of the optimism was directed at the same sorts of programs: community crime prevention, in which people take it upon themselves to increase their own protection and the protection of their neighbors.

Said Johnson: "I think that the community crime prevention program is having some success, and could be even more successful. I believe strongly that the guts of any effort to reduce crime has to go back into the community and be done on a house-by-house, block-by-block level. Money is better spent there than on more police or prosecutors."

If the chief prosecutor doesn't place a high priority on more prosecutors, neither does the chief of police place much emphasis on getting more police officers. Bouza, too, thinks community crime pre vention is "most promising, most effective." Accordingly, Mayor Fraser says the city's Community Crime Prevention Program is "one of the few items in the budget I've recommended an increase of funding for. I've recommended an increase of $50,000.

Fraser added: "We want the block club program to go city-wide. We think the idea of people learning how to protect their homes, to secure their doors and windows, to watch out for one another within a block, encouraging them to report suspicious people or events is a major contribution toward holding down neighborhood crime. We are putting a strong emphasis on that. The interesting thing is that some of our arrests, catching people in the commision of a crime, are because of neighborhood participation. I've noticed reports in the newspapers, that a neighbor called the police while the burglary or robbery was still going on. That's an important part of our effort."

The Rev. Quigley mentioned another community-based program, Operation Identification, in which people place identification numbers on their belongings. He also appreciates police assistance in suggesting ways to "make our building secure in terms of lighting and that sort of thing" --another form of self-help in the community.

Others are more skeptical. Black leader Edwards laughed when asked about community crime prevention, calling it "the next lucrative social job field over the next five to six years. That's where people will be employed as they come out of these other social programs." And Public Defender Kennedy took a different tack altogether, saying that the best way to prevent crime is to prevent criminals from returning to crime. That, he said, "is called probation; someone not becoming a repeat offender. Very few of our clients come back the second time, if they are put on probation and have a good probation officer."

Almost all of the white community leaders who were questioned identified the city's minority districts as those most affected by crime. Typical was prosecutor Johnson, who remarked: "it seems to emanate from the center of the city; the near-North and near-South sides are the areas with the most minority people and the lower socio-economic people."

Similarly, Public Defender Kennedy replied, "the minority community," and Mayor Fraser said: "They tend to be the low income areas." Police Chief Bouza underlined that feeling, and added only that the downtown area leads in terms of personal violence--purse--snatchings, assaults and the like.

It was interesting, then, that the representative of the black community had a rather different perspective. Said Edwards:

"I think the whole city is affected by crime. There are no areas to point out. When you talk about crime, the tenor in this country is that you have to talk of blue-collar and not white-collar crime. As far as I'm concerned and others I work closely with, there is a crime problem in the entire city. It ranges from violent crime to gambling, fraud, and stock manipulation."

Chief Judge Kalina, who is white, was the only other person to make a similar point. In his view, "the north side, I think, has a lot of minorities and working class people, and I think it is tightening up its belt and not standing for things. And a lot of crime is going to the suburbs. So crime is all over."

Among particular kinds of crimes, burglary was most often identified as the one that most plagues Minneapolis. From his perspective on the bench, Kalina remarked that there "seem to be a lot more burglaries." Chief Bouza agreed that break-ins have of late "risen fairly dramatically."

The black leader, Edwards, was the only one who emphasized problems with violent crime, adding: "I'm afraid there has been an increase in assaults, and obviously also in burglaries and armed robberies.

Both the chief prosecutor and the chief public defender identified crimes linked with a sour economy as the biggest problems. Among them, said Johnson, are theft, burglary, shoplifting, bad check writing and the fraudulent obtaining of public assistance. Added Defender Kennedy:

"Certain minor property crimes are on the increase; that tends to reflect the state of the economy. Petty thefts, thefts in general, burglaries which are committed with the intent to commit theft inside, to get the stereo set, the gold rings, the silverware. "Crimes of violence, if anything, are slightly down."

The leaders were divided on whether they'd noticed changes in crime reporting during the past year; those that did see a difference remarked that coverage was more extensive and more victim-oriented. Some said they also thought that coverage was balanced and accurate. But criticism of crime coverage included complaints that articles were sensational, and that they focused on crimes in which members of racial minorities were the perpetrators.

Kennedy, of the public defender's office, said there was no other word to describe crime coverage in the press than sensational; "There's been more in-depth reporting of crimes of violence, which engenders even more fear among citizens in the community." And Bridges, of the Crime Victims Center, said he thought crime reporting at times exacerbated the problem. "If you read the paper and you handled the case," he said, "it's blown out of proportion a little bit."

Others, like Judge Kalina and Chief Bouza, disagree. Kalina thinks coverage has been "pretty well balanced," adding that the newspapers "cover the more sensational crimes because the others aren't really newsworthy. If someone's house is burglarized, it's one out of 14 that is burglarized." Bouza thinks the notion that crime reporting actually exacerbates crime in a community is "a great mistake."

Black community leader Edwards criticized what he sees as a greater emphasis on minority crimes than on white collar crimes. For instance, he said, "In situations in which there is knowledge by the media of white collar crime, newspapers do not do an equitable job of reporting it." He added:

"I am concerned from the civil rights point of view that I am seeing a creeping emergence of emphasis on the race nature of the particular offense. In situations where victims are white and the perpetrators are known to be people of color, the written and visual media have gone to great lengths to highlight the incident.

"That seems to be somewhat in keeping with the mood of the national debate...The idea is that in order to get the kind of fever pitch of the society (to eliminate Constitutional rights) you always put the issue in the context of race. It's much more easy for a person to rationalize the abolishment of guarantees to abolish crime if the rationale is that the people of color are out of control."

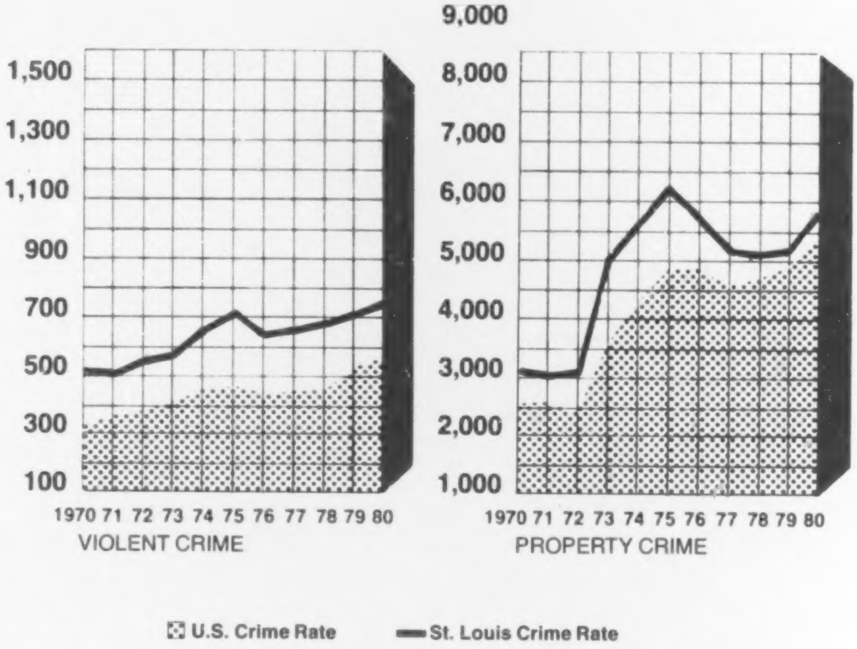
While Quigley said he thought newspaper converage seemed balanced, he noted that, "In the minority community crime is not adequately reported. Incidences occur which get reported in the minority press but don't make it into the daily press."

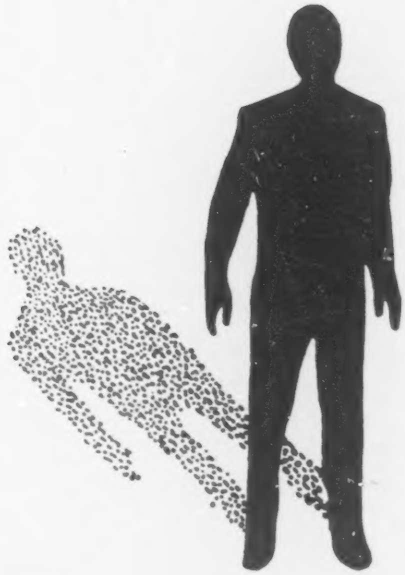
Kennedy said he thought few stories emphasized the constitutional rights of the accused. "Taken as a whole, the impression is often left with the viewers or the readers that it's just 'nuisance technicalities' that get people off. Of course, those 'nuisance technicalities' are called the Bill of Rights."

Fraser, on the other hand, was complimentary of the press, saying that he felt crime coverage was necessary. He said he thought news, such as the reporting of statistics on the number of break-ins in unlocked homes, was valuable because it makes people aware and alert.

St. Louis, Missouri

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





ST. LOUIS, MISSOURI

Prepared by the St. Louis Globe-Democrat*

Crime statistics seem to proliferate, to have a life of their own. Numbers the average person doesn't count and percentages he doesn't understand seem to take on meaning and great importance.

St. Louis had 53,648 major crimes in 1980, 15.5 percent more than in 1979. During the first quarter of 1981, however, the city's 13,979 major crimes were 7.6 percent less than in the first quarter in 1980.

Unincorporated St. Louis County -- those portions of the county patrolled by County Police -- had 18,053 major crimes in 1980, 6.2 percent more than in 1979. During the first quarter of 1981, there were 4,105 major crimes in the unincorporated county, down 2 percent from the first quarter in 1980. Violent crime, however, was up 44 percent. County crime figures do not include crimes from the bulk of the county municipalities.

So what do the statistics mean?

Should we feel safer or more endangered in St. Louis and St. Louis County?

Statistics, numbers and percentages don't tell us that much. Maybe we could add up all the crime statistics and multiply them by all those factors the statistics don't tell us, and come up with a new crime statistic that wouldn't be measured in numbers but would be very real all the same.

Call it the "fear factor."

Defining and measuring the "fear factor" could mean checking how empty our streets are after dark, checking the number of handgun permits issued, checking the proliferation of bars and locks and burglar alarms and dogs trained to attack. But it also could mean trying to measure the undefinable perceptions of our society that lead people to say things such as, "They're not satisfied just to rob you anymore, they kill you, too," and "God, I'd like to move out of this neighborhood, but where do you go? It's not safe anyplace anymore."

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* Written by James Floyd

Should you think those definitions of the "fear factor" are too strong, consider St. Louis County Prosecuting Attorney George R. "Buzz" Westfall's concerns about the victims of burglary -- normally considered a non-violent crime.

"Individuals may become the victims of violence if they are home when a burglary occurs," Westfall said. "They may suffer the trauma of never being able to sleep well for the rest of their lives, of waking up at every little noise in the middle of the night for the rest of their lives."

St. Louis Public Defender Joseph W. Downey says, "Fear of crime is such a psychological thing. I don't know how you cure something like that....Once a person has been burglarized they can feel uneasy going into their own apartment. It's a real psychological blow. They felt they had been violated."

St. Louis County Circuit Judge James Ruddy, criminal assignment judge, said, "To a certain extent, we obviously need more police, and then you need more prosecutors and more public defenders. I think the answer in reality over fear is larger police departments, and obviously money enters the issue there."

Overcoming the Fear

Only public perception that the justice system is doing something to fight crime can cut back on the fear of crime, Ruddy said.

But the "fear factor" also cripples the efforts of the system to fight crime.

"One of the biggest problems we have as prosecutors is getting continued cooperation from witnesses because of fear of retaliation," said St. Louis Circuit Attorney George Peach.

Some of the fear may be irrational, but the fear is very real all the same.

"I still see people having a fear of going downtown, but I try to preach that it is just as safe downtown as anywhere else, maybe more safe than some other areas, and I hear a lot of people say they'd like to shop downtown but are afraid to do it," said Alderman Vice President Albert "Red" Villa, D-11th Ward. "I would have to think crime statistics show there's more crime in the suburbs and in the neighborhoods than there is downtown."

Overcoming the "fear factor" doesn't come easy, according to Villa, and neither does getting the money to fight crime.

"I don't know how you overcome this fear of crime," Villa said. "I've been through so much of this down here. People don't want to pay any taxes, but the first time you talk about cutting the Police Department, you've got them up in arms."

Westfall says the people and the justice system have to get tough if anything is to be done about the "fear factor."

"It (the fear of crime) can't be totally overcome, but it can be alleviated through citizen involvement and a more aggressive approach to the problem itself by way of sentencing -- and sentencing alternatives -- warehousing for the truiy bad ones and rehabilitation for those who can be helped," Westfall said.

St. Louis Mayor Vincent C. Schoenmehl Jr. says the fear of crime decreases only as crime decreases.

"I believe the fear of crime has decreased in the Central West End and downtown because the environment there is getting better," Schoenmehl said. "I've lived in my house (in the West End) for 10 years. The first couple of years everybody was getting ripped off and I was worried about crime in the neighborhood, but it hasn't happened in the last eight years, and I'm not really worried about it now."

Crime and the Press

Some say the press must take some of the blame for the "fear factor." One axiom of the newspaper business has been that just by reporting, or over-reporting, crime, you can create your own "crime wave."

But St. Louis area officials generally feel the press has been responsible, and perhaps even helpful, in its crime reporting.

"Crime has been advertised alot," St. Louis Police Chief Eugene J. Camp said. "But you can't hide a murder or bank robbery. It's not blown out of proportion. The news media does a good job."

Crime reporting here is generally balanced, Peach said, and the newspapers' emphasis on reporting of rape that started in October 1979 has been helpful.

"It has done great things," Peach said. "It has caused the general public to be aware that rape can occur at any time to any person....It has also educated jurors and thrown out the window the male stereotype that women ask for it."

Both Peach and St. Louis County Executive Gene McNary say, however, that the press should give more emphasis to the judicial process.

"The fear of crime is worse than crime itself, and the newspaper coverage adds to the fear of crime....The press focuses on the arrest. There is virtually no coverage of what the judges are doing."

Peach said, "I'd probably wish to see more attention given to convictions, as opposed to reports of crimes."

But Ruddy says, "I don't think it (crime reporting) makes the problem worse. I think the newspapers are balanced and accurate. I don't get to watch enough television or listen to enough radio to be up on their coverage and give an opinion."

The Solution

Crime and the "fear factor" have bludgeoned their way into the public consciousness in recent years, but there seems to be no real agreement on the answers, if there are answers.

"Juries here...are taking crimes against persons extremely serious these days," Downey said. "But tougher sentences only mean more reliance on the prisons."

"Prisons are the worst part of the criminal justice system," Downey said. "I do not think adequate provision is made for the fact that most prisoners will get out of prison. Not enough preparation is made to put prisoners back into society."

Westfall says the prison question must be addressed.

"Over the years there has been an increasing number of judges, prosecutors and public defenders, but not a correlation in the increase of prison facilities....More prisons are needed -- and both types -- prisons for those who need to be warehoused and programs for those who can be rehabilitated."

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Schoemehl says, "The answer to this problem goes back to (bringing back) the neighborhood policeman."

Villa said, "I think the Police Department does a good job of preventing crime....In the poorer neighborhoods, if you have a walking policeman, he can come up with a lot of information."

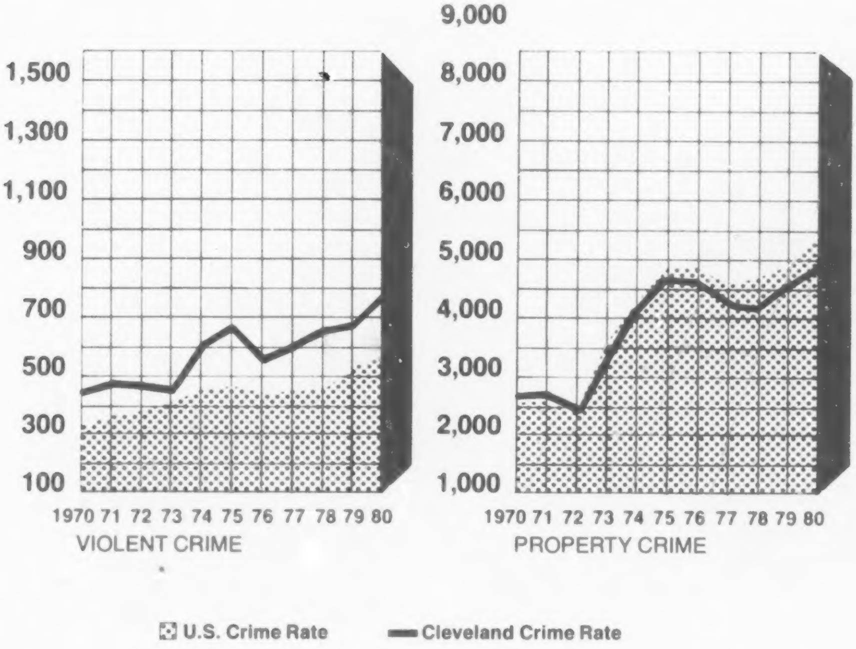
McNary says, "The courts should be dispensing justice, or we need to adjust our police departments and make them social workers. I think it is a simple explanation of a judge being faced with a live human being who does not look like what he is. The judge is not confronted by the victim."

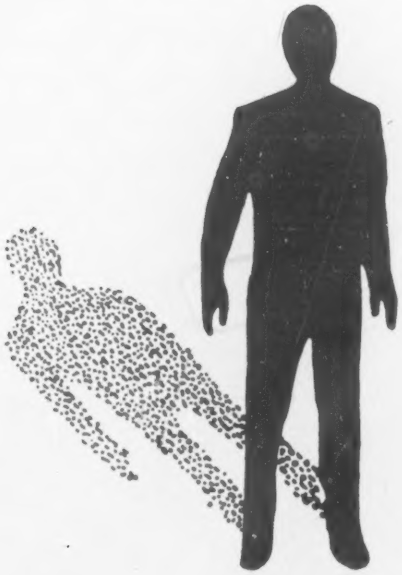
But the increasing "fear factor" may be all but impossible to curb.

"Fear of crime is like a contagious disease," Downey said.

Cleveland, Ohio

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





CLEVELAND, OHIO

Prepared by the Cleveland Plain Dealer*

A night light, extra security chains on doors, burglar alarms for house and car, guard dogs, peepholes through the front door--all are symbols of the fear of crime.

Crime creates fear. And that fear can have a greater impact on the community than the value of all that is lost from criminal activitites.

Although statistics compiled from across the country show that the major categories of crime are rising yearly, the fear of crime, an almost impossible element to measure, seems to be gripping the daily lives of Americans at even a faster clip.

From community leaders to average middle-class workers, both black and white, the message is clear: Americans are being intimidated by the criminal element.

The signs of such intimidation are manyfold. Senior citizens are becoming more and more reluctant to leave the safety of their own homes even to answer the door. Suburbanites say they are afraid to go downtown because of the fear someone might do them harm.

"People will drive very circuitous routes to avoid going through certain areas of the city," said U.S. District Judge John M. Manos.

"People are afraid to come downtown... People are very frightened, particularly older people. They live in fear."

"Downtown Cleveland has been hurt quite a bit by the fear of crime and we see that with reduced hours, the increase of shopping malls in the suburbs and something as simple as the lack of maintenance in some of the bigger stores in downtown Cleveland," said one downtown resident.

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* Written by John P. Coyne

Cleveland, Ohio

Experts who deal with the crime problem on a daily basis admit that for the most part the fear often exceeds the actual existence of crime.

"People living in middle income areas especially have a fear of crime that is greater than the actual incidence of crime," said Capt. Edward A. McNamara, a supervisor on Cleveland's Near West Side.

And Jose C. Feliciano, chief police prosecutor in Cleveland, pointed out: "People are more concerned now than they were 10 years ago. They perceived that there is more crime...And crime is up. With the decrease in population, plus the increase in crime, people have good reason to fear more."

Inspector Peter J. Becker, chief investigator for the Cuyahoga County Sheriff's Department, said, "There is a deep concern among middle-class, law abiding families about the threat of crime. Many have curtailed the activities of their children because of their feeling crime has escalated so much. We must get more of the criminals off the street and we must do it with more than just a wrist slap."

"Crime is a problem most on people's minds," said Cleveland Mayor George V. Voinovich. The mayor said at least 20% of the questions and comments made to him at community meetings reflect people's concern with crime.

Statistics supplied to the FBI for its Uniform Crime Report show that Greater Clevelanders probably have more to fear than much of the nation.

Among the 30 largest cities in the U.S., Cleveland ranked third highest in the number of homicides per 100,000 residents in 1980, fourth highest in the number of rapes, sixth highest in the number of robberies and eighth highest in the number of aggravated assults.

Bob Pace, chief of security at Cuyahoga County Jail, said, "I think you would probably find an increase in the consumption of protective devices whether it is a can of mace or an extra lock on the door. I think the media has done a good job in publicizing crime and the various criminal justice agencies are doing a good job in publishing preventive techniques. Turning lights on when you leave for a day or two, stopping the delivery of mail...I don't think this was done so much when I was younger and it certainly wasn't when I came to Cleveland. So the crime prevention techniques are certainly on the increase."

Community leaders have a variety of theories as to why violence in Cleveland has increased 42% between 1970 and 1980 even as the population dropped 24% during the same period.

Dr. Thomas R. Evans, director of the Begun Institute for Studies of Violence and Aggression at John Carroll University and a consultant on violence for the Central Intelligence Agency, considers the general deterioration in a cohesive value system as one of the basic factors in the rise in violence.

"So long as we have a deterioration of the city, we have a deterioration of the community spirit. Along with that is the loss of any sort of a cohesive or familiar value system," Evans said.

"As a result, people view themselves as individuals within a milieu of people rather than a part of that large group. Survival becomes a factor. Looking out for yourself becomes a factor. Consequently, we have an increase in the individual acts of crime."

"Underlying [illegible] is a basic philosophy that operates in the mind of most criminals: that crime pays. Most criminals believe that they will not get caught and that they have a way of gaining easy dollars without a great deal of work... Unfortunately, the statistics tend to indicate that crime does pay... For every one that is caught, there are nine to 10 crimes that go undetected or unsolved."

Unemployment is another factor believed to contribute to the high crime figures. Voinovich and Police Chief William T. Hanton consider the Cleveland unemployment rate--among the highest in major cities in the nation and almost twice the national average in 1980--to be a significant factor in bringing about the high crime rate.

"Our crime problem definitely is connected to unemployment." Voinovich said. "When unemployment goes up, crime goes up."

Another factor contributing to the increased crime rate in Cleveland is the greater use of drugs, especially in the inner city. Council President George L. Forbes estimated drugs play a part in 25% to 50% of all crimes committed in the community.

Evans, who has interviewed hundreds of criminals in County Jail, pointed out that persons hooked on drugs are not necessarily criminal by nature, but are forced to turn to crime to pay for their drug habit.

"The use of drugs in the inner city, perhaps motivated by frustration and futility, is much greater than in the suburbs. People in the inner city are probably less able to support a drug habit through an allowance or through what their family is able to give them." Evans said.

"Once that addiction takes place, it becomes a phenomenal financial task to support that habit. The average habit is $300 a day for heroin addicts. Some individuals run as high as $600 a day."

"Assuming a fence on the street would give you only 25% to 30% of the valve of an item, the amount of money needed by a drug addict would become phenomenal. So certainly crimes and even violent crimes become a necessary way to support that habit," Evans said.

Cleveland lawyer Bernard Berkman blames ghetto life as perpetuating criminal lifestyles.

"Certainly ghetto life today in big cities is not designed to produce Albert Einsteins," Berkman said. "The factors that are involved--the violence, the drugs, the prostitution, the criminality which is all around kids--has got to have some kind of an influence if you believe that human experience has an effect upon the personality.

"The more base the surroundings, the less likely kids growing up in the area are likely to escape, particularly when their only hope appears to be to emulate the panderers, the numbers runners, etc.

"Add to that the fact there are very few alternatives in terms of jobs and you have a vicious cycle which repeats itself from generation to generation," Berkman said.

Others believe the easy availability of handguns has been a factor in escalating the violence.

Juvenile Court Judge Walter G. Whitlatch, who has watched all types of children go through the juvenile justice system in the last 45 years, stated flatly: "Our failure to control handguns has contributed to crime."

Whitlatch added, "I see no reason why people should be allowed to have guns. That is certainly something we can do something about."

"The problem with owning a gun for defense is that it frequently results in getting people killed who might not otherwise be killed," said Assistant U.S. Attorney Nancy C. Schuster. She pointed out that a simple robbery frequently escalates into serious injuries when the victim pulls out a gun and ends up in a shootout trying to defend himself.

Becker, a Cleveland homicide detective for 26 years before joining the Sheriff's Department, felt "the availability of guns has been a major cause of crimes of violence" in the community.

Becker said he feels so strongly about their indiscriminate use that he would favor a mandatory sentence for persons convicted of carrying a concealed weapon.

The glorification of crime on television and the violence and sex which can be seen daily on TV programs were frequently mentioned by community leaders as feeding the violence syndrome.

Council's Forbes thought that television is at least partially responsible for the breakdown in the family. "It has altered our entire lives," he said.

He and others pointed out that the loose morality seen daily on soap operas and their evening derivatives, where sex and treachery are seen by many in the crime-prone age as a mirror of reality, added to the deterioration in the lifestyles for many.

Judge John T. Patton, a former assistant county prosecutor who now serves on the Ohio Court of Appeals, thought there has been a total breakdown in the last 20 years with respect to the rights and property of others.

"Many of the movies shown to children during their formative years seem to glorify crime," Patton said. "We are paying a very dear price for this lesson. Walk into any department store or school and you will come face to face with armed security guards."

He noted that 10 years ago, when he was a prosecutor, there were about 3,000 criminal indictments a year. Now that figure has risen to more than 10,000 cases a year.

Patton added, "Crime has taken control of our justice system. We are so inundated with criminal cases, we are forced to negotiate with criminals which should never be the case."

Cuyahoga County Prosecutor John T. Corrigan sees the problem as having become so immense that the justice system is stumbling.

"Judges want to clear their docket at any cost," he said. "They reduce their dockets by taking lesser pleas and handing out probation and fines instead of jail time. This is turning more people back to the street where they become involved in more crimes, get caught, and repeat their role in the judicial system."

There seems to be some agreement among community leaders about what must be done to alleviate the fears of residents and bring crime under control.

Greater police visibility and improved response time by police are targets Hanton said will be achieved after he completes implementation of a manpower reallocation study. The Voinovich administration indicated it will add 200 more patrolmen to the department in the coming year and have 70% of the manpower assigned to basic patrol duties in the six police districts.

Hanton said he hopes the increased visibility of police may make Clevelanders feel more secure in their city while it increases the fear in criminals of being caught.

The idea of high police visibility and quick response has worked well in Cleveland Heights, said Police Chief Martin G. Lentz, who felt that, "Public confidence in the police department is the best means to dispel the fear of crime."

Lentz said he tries to have enough cars on duty during the day so no car is tied up on assignments for more than half its shift. "Police must be able to respond to a call within two minutes or the chances of making an arrest drop swiftly," he said.

Corrigan argued that in order to turn around the idea of revolving doors in the justice system, judges must hand out meaningful punishments to keep law breakers off the streets and to stop them from committing further crimes.

Another recommended crime deterrent was the idea of coming to the aid of crime victims during an attack.

"It is not only a good idea, I think it is a necessity," said Pace from County Jail. "It is something I have talked to inmates in this correction center about. The more citizens are polarized by crime, the easier it is to become a victim. I think the more a criminal believes other people are going to become involved, the less apt he is to commit a crime at all."

If the judicial system is to get any break at all, it could come as the result of the declining birth rate and the drop in population in Cuyahoga County, predicted Judge Whitlatch.

He noted there were 20,000 fewer children in the county between 13 and 17 years old in 1980 compared to 1975. U.S. Census forecasts indicate the number of persons between the ages of 14 and 24, the crime prone age, will drop from 20% of the population to 15% in the coming 10 years.

Voinovich said he favors stepping up recruiting into the police auxiliary program as a good way to reduce the fear of crime in the city.

"We are getting more people involved in working with the police... Not only do these people help provide more eyes and ears for the police department, but they also become very familiar with the department and the people in the department."

"They become apostles," the mayor said. "They start telling their neighbors about the problems police officers have and they get that communication going back and forth. Plus, the policeman gets to know the citizenry a whole lot better. You build up a relationship between the public and the police department. The more that relationship is built, the better opportunity you will have to do something about the problem."

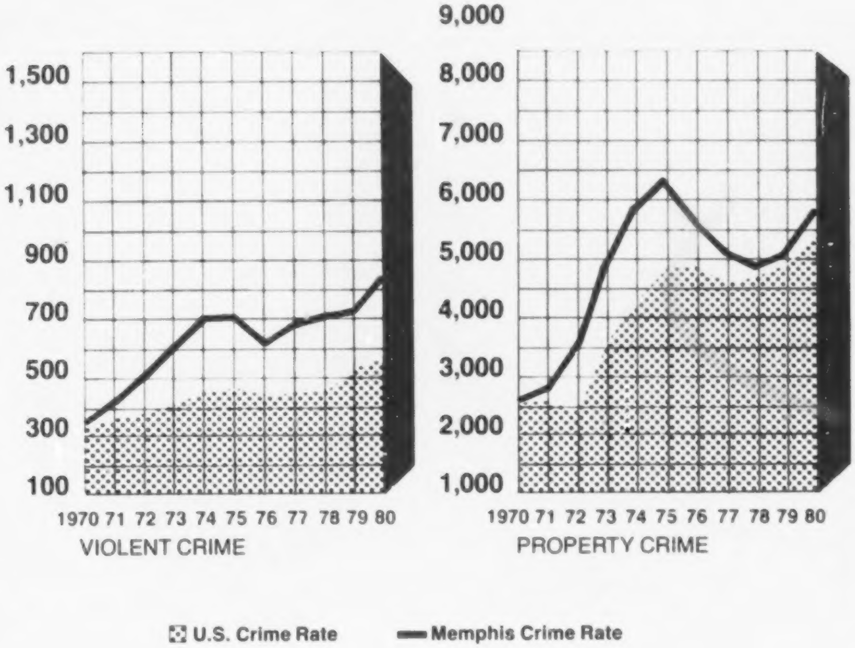
Voinovich said he is optimistic that crime and the fear of crime will fade in the coming years.

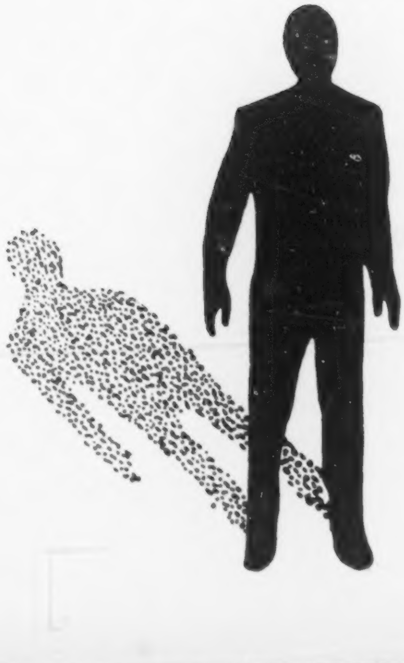
"I think we are on the upward trail," he said. "The community is coming together. I see a new spirit in Cleveland I've never seen before. There is a spirit of optimism and a lot of people are backing up that optimism with investment. That investment will create jobs. Jobs create taxes. And taxes create better services.

"The cycle is now going in the other direction," he predicted.

Memphis, Tennessee

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE

Prepared by the Memphis Press-Scimitar*

Memphis Police Director E. Winslow Chapman locked away his silverware in a bank vault.

Shelby County Public Defender A C Wharton spent $2,000 on a home alarm system after he was burglarized.

Jewett Miller, executive assistant to Shelby County Attorney General Hugh Stanton, hides his valuables whenever he leaves the house.

"I never would have done that a few years ago," he said. "I think as long as crime is running as rampant as it is and so many people are affected by it, it is going to be uppermost in everyone's minds."

Said Larry Parrish, former U.S. attorney and prosecutor of the "Deep Throat" obsenity case: "When you see a report that crime has occurred, it creates the feeling that you may be next. People have the notion they are as apt to be the next victim as the guy across town."

This story is part of a 13-city cooperative effort by newspapers and magazines to reveal common and disparate crime problems in major urban centers across the country and will be incorporated in a study prepared by Research and Forecasts Inc. to be published in August as The Figgie Report on Fear of Crime, Part III: The Community Leaders Perspective.

Last year Memphians lost $42,390,708 to burglars, robbers and thieves -- more than $5 million in December alone, according to Memphis Police Department records. At the same time, crime continues to increase, although Memphis compares favorably with cities of similar size. For instance, San Francisco reported 8,218 crimes for every 100,000 residents last year, according to the FBI.

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* Written by Leonard A. Novarro

Memphis, Tennessee

The crime index for Memphis was 5,823.3.

Major crimes in general underwent a 28 percent increase for the first six months of this year, compared with the same period in 1980, according to the most recent Police Department statistics.

All interviewed agree an increase in violent crimes has been the trend of the last five years, although police records indicate a decline in homicides and rapes in the first half of 1981.

Homicides decreased from 75 to 66 and rapes decreased from 370 to 350. But assaults went from 927 to 1,198; robberies, from 1,550 to 1,791; and burglaries, from 8,185 to 8,972.

Memphians have adapted by arming themselves. Police and firearms dealers report handgun sales have mushroomed in the last five years, with the Police Department processing some 7,200 applications for pistols last year -- more than double that of three years ago.

Even the courtroom seems no longer sacrosanct.

"Everybody's carrying guns," said City Court Judge Horace Pierotti,
who related an incident in which a defendant appearing before a judge opened her purse to reveal a .38-cal. pistol.

City residents are relying increasingly on private security for protection. Last year applications for security guard permits increased by 80 percent, according to police officials, with some 5,000 guards now registered with the Police Department, compared with a city police force of approximately 1,200. More than 100 firms are licensed by the police to do business in the city, a 30 percent increase over two years ago, according to Lt. Pat Adams of the department's permits bureau.

Patrolman Steve Brown of the Police Deparment's alarm coordinator's office estimates that by the end of the year, 10,000 active commercial and residential security systems will be on file.

Adams said, however, "the most significant change" in private security has been neighborhood patrols, some providing residential security to as many as 900 homes. Three services operate in the city now and a fourth has applied for a license.

Neighborhood Watch groups, a grassroots form of crime prevention for mutual protection, are being formed so fast that one of the men in charge of the program for the Police Department says, "I have no idea how many there are. They're growing so fast we can't keep track of them."

Lt. Jim Myers, one of two officers in charge of crime prevention presentations for the Police Department's public relations section, said the surest barometer of how fast such groups are forming is the number of telephone calls he gets for stickers used to identify personal property and for forms to feed the information into a national computer network.

Police officials estimate between 15 and 20 groups form daily and now have thousands of members.

"All I can say is business is booming," said Myers, who was invited to give 21 presentations on shoplifting and another four on home security in one four-day stretch over the Fourth of July weekend.

Myers says it pays off.

"The neighborhood develops a reputation of being crime-conscious and an undesirable place to operate," he said, adding that, based on a preliminary analysis, crime has been cut by as much as half in neighborhoods with 50 percent participation.

One of the organizers of a Neighborhood Watch group in Frayser claims a better tally.

"We used to have a lot of burglaries and thefts in the neighborhood, but since we started the program our street has been like a ghost town," said Mae Tolliver, who lives on Madewell. "Before, people were out at 3 and 4 in the morning roaming the streets. It was time we organized."

Neighbors refer to her as a "nightgown detective" because she and a neighbor were wearing little more than that at 2 in the morning one day in June when they corralled two teenagers suspected of stealing a motorbike from a yard.

"I just put on my housecoat and slippers and my neighbor took off barefoot," said Mrs. Tolliver.

Three youngsters who were trying to start the bike saw them and ran. The women got in a car and followed them for four blocks.

They pulled alongside them, and Mrs. Tolliver hollered "Freeze!" and ordered them to place their upraised arms against a tree. To the women's surprise, two of the youngsters did. The third one got away.

"I never said I had a gun, but they thought we did," Mrs. Tolliver said.

The police finally arrived to take over.

Police Director Chapman resents the implication that the proliferation of such groups is due to a failure of police and courts to keep criminals off the street.

"For police agencies to make up for the lack of attention that people give neighborhoods is horribly expensive," he said. "We have finally reached the point where it's not an economic feasibility for the taxpayer. Therefore, they have to do it themselves."

Chapman says that's nothing new.

"Traditionally, communities have been... protective of residents. Slowly, as the nation and society became more mechanized and isolated, those things dwindled and the reliance was placed on police.

Now, he added, "reliance on the system, particularly police agencies," has gone beyond the system's capabilities.

"We've come full circle," he said. It's not a breakdown in the system. The bottom line is, we simply can't afford to do it the way we've been doing it the last 50 years or so."

A. Nuri Salaam, chairman of the National Association of Citizens Against Crime, formerly the black-on-black task force, gives crime awareness quizzes in high schools.

"We explain to them how to keep themselves from getting involved in crimes and many of the areas where they can become unwittingly involved, such as looking out while someone burglarizes a house," he said.

A bit drastic? But these are drastic times, says Salaam.

"Crime is one of the greatest problems facing the country. It transcends all racial and political bounds," he said.

"Every time I buy a new garbage pail somebody steals it," moaned Public Defender Wharton.

"Fortunately I'm able to afford bars and an alarm system. I have to think about the individual who can't afford that. What about someone who has been affected by crime and doesn't have the resiliency, the money, to bounce back?"

State Senator Curtis Person was a prime sponsor of legislation restoring the dealth penalty in Tennessee, as well as the even more controversial legislation reducing juvenile jurisdiction to the age of 19.

As a youngster growing up in Frayser, he said, "I used to think nothing of going to town and seeing a movie and walking along Main Street until 2 in the morning. I wouldn't feel safe now.

"I have all the security measures you can have put on a home. The people in the area I represent -- they're afraid to leave their homes," he added.

"There's going to be a tremendous amount of pressure so that leaders are going to have to do something about crime or they'll have their leadership taken away."

Chapman, a member of the President's Advisory Commission on Crime, says now's the time for innovation.

"The problem is that what we are doing is dissuading no one," said the police director, an outspoken proponent of harsh penalties.

"I truly believe I can come up with some things we are now paying people to do that are unpleasant enough a person wouldn't want to end up in jail doing it," he said.

If non-violent offenders "had to work from 5 in the morning to 5 at night every Saturday, whether it's cold or not, it wouldn't take them long to say they want no part of that."

"If they are habitual offenders, you lock them up for good. They've proven they can't cope," Chapman said.

Person agrees. "If people know they will face a penalty commensurate with the crime -- I don't care what lawyers will say -- that is a deterrent."

Salaam, however, said, "If in the next 10 years the citizens of Memphis pay attention to eliminating root causes instead of just locking people up, we'd make progress.

"Criminals didn't come from the moon. They came from society," he added. "They're our brothers and sisters, and society has failed."

Wharton believes the failure is within the criminal justice system.

"We need to take a closer look at what's happening to them (criminals) while they're in the system, from arraignment to parole. It's my fear that many go through the system not with an eye toward being a better person but with an eye toward the nearest parole date," he said.

Parrish suggests that any reform begin with an attack on white collar crime and public corruption. Too many people are simply getting away with it, he said.

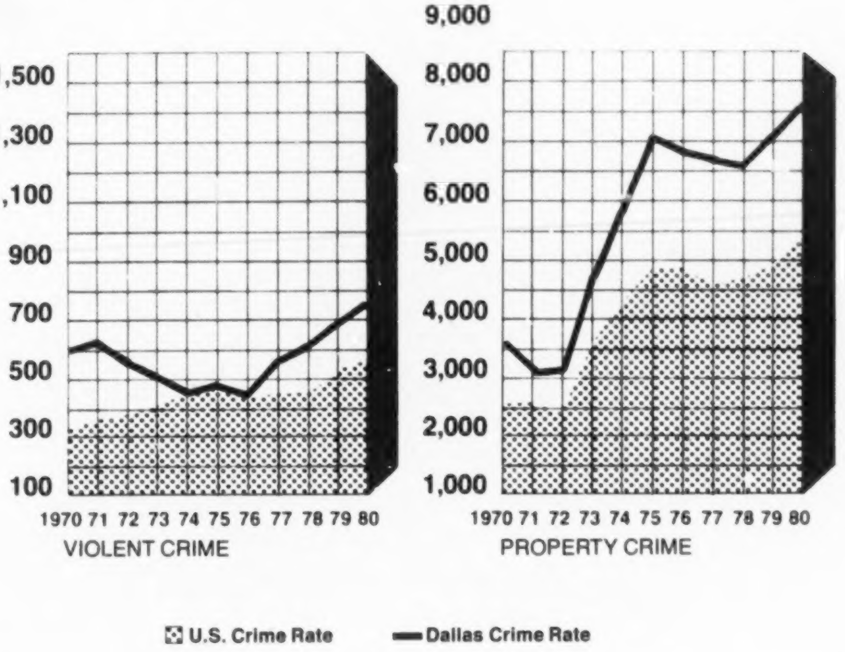
"It sets the tone for the community and says dishonesty is tolerable, when you have employees working under the jurisdiction of a public employer and people below them know they are stealing ideas, money, time and they continue to prosper," the former federal prosecutor said.

"That says stealing is OK. It's getting caught that is not. That exists to an alarming degree in this community.

"The effect of that kind of crime on our city is subtle but pervasive, and it fosters a lot of street crime. One of the recurrent themes I hear is, 'Everybody in society is stealing from someone.' "

Dallas, Texas

Reported incidents per 100,000 population



DALLAS TEXAS

Prepared by the Dallas Morning News

Some Dallas civic leaders have plans for a war on crime, but most shrug their shoulders and wonder how they can protect at least one out of every nine Dallas residents who will be victims of major crimes this year.

Civic leaders on many fronts - City Council members, county commissioners and judges, officials of the Dallas Chamber of Commerce and Dallas Police Department -- outline two basic strategies for fighting crime: a funding increase for the police and a renewed effort of community involvement including neighborhood crime-watch prevention programs.

"We see more willingness on the part of the public to band together. I'm not talking about vigilantes or Guardian Angels (a group of youths who patrol New York's subways and recently began organizing in Houston) -- I'm talking about block watches, and things like that," said Dallas Police Chief Glen King.

King said crime in Dallas has been on the upswing since 1960, although there was a drop in the statistics in May and June. During the past six years, the number of crimes committed. number of calls for police assistance and the number of arrests all have increased while the size of the police force has decreased, he said.

"We have become more productive and more effective," King said. "But one of the things I'm concerned with is the productivity of the police department. We are going to have less money than we've had in the past and there are going to be more places for it to go."

District Judge John Mead said there needs to be an expansion in the police force because the population boom in Dallas has made it difficult for officers to patrol large, sprawling areas.

"We are spreading out too much. We've become a town of bedroom communities. It's difficult to police those areas," he said.

Some officials said the public expects too much from law enforcement officials when the crux of the problem lies with the criminals.

"The problem with crime is that people are prone to look at the district attorney, at the sheriff and say they are not doing their jobs. But we deal with them after they've committed the crime," said District Judge Don Metcalfe.

"Law enforcement can only do so much. Crime comes about because people don't have proper training in the family," he said.

Crime is affecting both victims and those who fear they will be, officials said.

Sales of burglar alarms, handguns and small mace canisters have increased as people try to find better ways to protect themselves.

"People may be less willing to be on the streets at night. Women are more aware of the conditions that lead to assault and the elderly tend to be a fortress society now," King said.

"It's a hard, hard problem," said Dallas Chamber of Commerce President Terry Fritz, who says the impact on Dallas businesses occurs not just when crimes are committed against Dallas businesses, but also when employees become the victims.

Fritz said Dallas is the third largest corporate relocation city in the country and "certainly the safety and protection of the family is paramount" to companies considering relocation to another area.

"If (corporate relocation) decays because there is no advantage to coming to Dallas ... you start losing businesses, then you start losing the tax base. It's a domino effect."

"The competitive edge we enjoy has got to be worth about $1 billion a year to this economy," Fritz said.

It is because of the billion-dollar figure, in part, that Fritz and the Chamber of Commerce will undertake a major study in October of all agencies involved in crime prevention.

"In the metroplex, there is a wide effort. No single agency can have any impact at all unless there is cooperation. We can't have everyone working on the same problem," Fritz said.

In Dallas County, one prevention program to begin in August is the mediation dispute center. County Commissioner Nancy Judy said the program is designed to allow people to solve their differences, such as landlord-tenant disputes, before violence occurs.

As the backlog of cases in the courts increases and as public displeasure with jail sentences increases, there will be more debate over increasing the use of mandatory sentences for certain crimes, King said.

Dallas City Councilman Ricardo Medrano said he is opposed to a trend toward mandatory sentences.

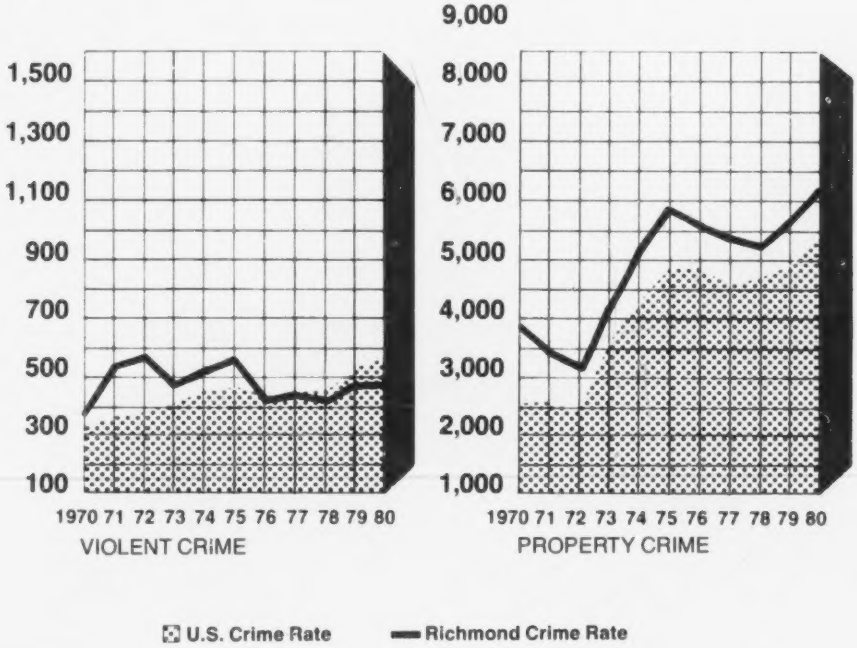
"The law was meant to be bent," he said.

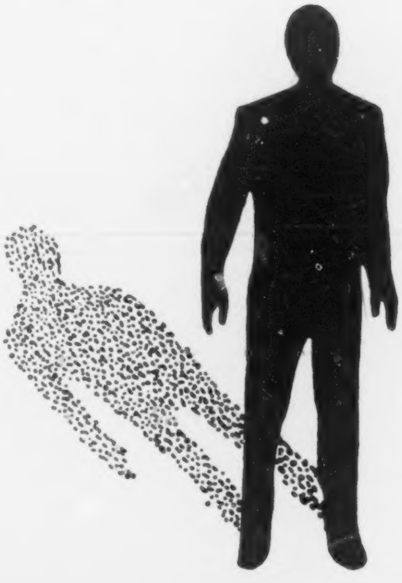
City council member Max Goldblatt has an unconventional approach to preventing crime. "We spend too much time on victimless crime -- like traffic tickets. We need to study the causes of crime. Personally, I believe there is a chemical imbalance in the brain" that causes people to commit crimes, Goldblatt said.

"We don't understand crime, we understand punishment. Rather than take people off the streets and throw them in jail, we need to study them. We need more behavioral scientists than jail guards," Goldblatt said.

Richmond, Virginia

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





RICHMOND, VIRGINIA

Prepared by the Richmond Times-Dispatch*

Many women won't walk alone at night for fear of being raped. The fear of crime has created a self-imposed curfew in which the women deprive themselves of their freedom to travel.

Bus passengers here sometimes have to hunt to get exact change so city bus drivers don't have to carry extra money that could be stolen. The fear of crime sometimes presents a nuisance.

Some residents buy light timers to try to deceive potential burglars into thinking someone's home when no one is. And they buy floodlights to eliminate dark places. So many Americans are buying home security systems that the August issue of Consumer Reports magazine evaluates some models designed for do-it-yourself installation. The fear of crime is sometimes expensive.

Some people buy handguns for self-protection, but they learn through misery that a child's curiosity led to killing or wounding an unintended victim. The fear of crime can lead to danger and devastation.

All persons entering the John Marshall Courts Building here must pass through a detection system that scans for guns or other weapons.

The fear of crime has become so routine that no one questions why he must be electronically frisked.

Fear of crime is widespread. It shows up in little concerns or big purchases.

It's a largely unstudied aspect of everyday life, but its effects are easy to spot.

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* Written by Thomas R. Morris

Richmond, Virginia

One elderly man used to be the only guard at Virginia Commonwealth University; VCU now has a police force, notes Richmond Circuit Judge James B. Wilkinson. Some stores that used to have one guard now have 20 or more, and there are armed guards at some grocery stores, he points out.

Says U.S. District Judge Robert R. Merhige Jr., "I think the biggest problem we have at the moment is people living in fear. We didn't have that 15 or 20 years ago."

One explanation for increased fear of becoming a crime victim, he suggests, is that "crimes have become more personal."

"The criminals are now breaking into homes. You take my neighborhood. I doubt that there's a single home that doesn't have a burglar alarm," Merhige said.

Merhige lives in a posh section of the West End, but its residents' concerns are far from unique.

Two national polls indicate how pervasive the fear of becoming a victim is.

A Gallup poll issued in December 1979 indicated about two out of each five Americans were afraid to walk alone in their neighborhood at night, and that about half were afraid to walk alone in big cities at night.

The second study, commissioned by Figgie International Inc. and issued in September, showed that while women were more fearful than men, and blacks were more fearful than whites, the extent of the fear of crime was about the same across various income brackets.

Its findings indicate that more than half of American women fear being raped. Nearly one of each four Americans fears being beaten up or robbed, and 17 percent fear being murdered.

The study said that two of each five Americans were what it classed as highly fearful of being the victim of a violent crime.

The study was conducted for Figgie International by the New York firm of Research & Forecasts Inc., which said it phoned 1,047 people by a method that reaches both listed and unlisted numbers.

Statisticians say that when a survey is run with a sample of that size, 95 times out of 100 the answers are representative of the way people feel within about three percentage points.

The study's unnamed author writes, "Crime and the fear of crime have, like a dark dye, permeated the fabric of American life."

The stain of crime, though, is uneven.

Statistics indicate that while the rate of crime is rising in the United States, the rate of several types of major crimes is declining in the Richmond area.

A surprising picture emerges from a Times-Dispatch review of crime rates in Richmond and seven nearby counties since 1970.

The rate of violent crime, for example, was higher in 1972 than in 1980.

The review looked at not only the number of crimes reported to area police but also the rate of reported crime -- the ratio of victims per 100,000 people.

There's a drawback in the use of any crime statistics, of course: Many crimes aren't reported to police and therefore don't show up in the statistics. But the figures are the backdrop in public perceptions about whether crime is rising.

Richmond, Virginia

The Times-Dispatch review shows that while some types of reported crime are up in the past two years, the statistics show a pattern that looks like a W: There are drops as well as rises.

Violent crime, for example, was highest in 1972 and had lower peaks in 1975 and 1980. The valleys were in 1970, 1973 and 1978.

The Richmond area murder rate was highest in 1972 and was slightly lower in 1980 than in the previous valleys of 1976 and 1978. The number of murders was 107 in 1972 and 77 last year. The rate of murder was about 20 victims per 100,000 area residents in 1972 and about 12 per 100,000 last year.

The area murder rate, though, has remained higher than the national rate.

Assaults have been rising nationally each year since 1970, except for a one-year leveling in 1976. But locally, the assault rate has bounced. In the process, the assault rate here is no longer higher than the national rate. It was higher than the nation's average in 1971 and 1972 but has been lower each year since then.

The same has happened in robberies. The area rate was significantly higher than the national norm from 1970 through 1975 but has been lower since then. The robbery rate rose in 1979 and 1980 but remained sharply lower than in 1972 or 1975.

The local incidence of reported rape, however, is above the national rate.

About 40 women per 100,000 in the Richmond area reported they had been raped in 1972, when the national rate was about 22 women per 100,000. The local rate dropped to about 31 women by 1977 when the national rate had risen to about 29.

But then the local rape rate rose to about 42 in 1979 and dipped only slightly to 41 last year. The national rate is estimated at about 37 women per 100,000 last year.

Among the major property crimes, the rate of larcenies here has mirrored the national rate -- both are way up since 1970. In burglaries, the national trend has been up, while the pattern here showed high rates in 1970, 1975 and 1980 and valleys in 1973 and 1978. The rate of auto theft has been fairly steady or has risen a bit nationally but is quite clearly lower in the Richmond area.

But while the rates of some crimes here are down, few people would question that the concerns about becoming a victim have risen. It's hard to shake that concern once the idea is planted, and perceptions about crime don't fluctuate as the rates do.

The signs of that concern are clear. A sign doesn't welcome a customer in a convenience store anymore; instead, it says that no more than $30 is available to the cashier. Some bank vehicles no longer simply identify the bank to help keep its name before the public; they also say that nothing negotiable is being transported. The Richmond Public Library doesn't consider itself immune; its budget must deal with the theft of books, and signs caution its patrons, "Other people may not be as honest as you. Watch your purse."

"There isn't a corner or place where fear of crime has decreased. That includes the entire state," says Lewis Hurst, director of the State Crime Commission. "The concern for people becoming victims has echoed across the state."

Perhaps "fear" of crime is too strong a word to apply with a broad brush in painting a picture of how large numbers of people feel about their safety and that of their possessions. But it's not easy, either, to draw a sharper view, suggests Dr. John Mullaney of the Medical College of Virginia. His practice of forensic psychiatry includes examining crime suspects and prison immates.

Concerns about crime are hard to keep in perspective, he says. They might grow in the mind's eye when a news report or a neighbor makes a crime seem imminent.

Crime rates are mathematical, detached and hard to understand. But even if statistics show crime to be down, the figures are hard to assess if a neighbor's home were recently burglarized.

It's problem of context and perspective that applies also in the health field, he said. Doctors, for example, must educate the public about ways to detect early cancer signals but they also run the risk of alarming people, he said.

Others echo the difficulty of keeping crime and a fear of crime in context.

"People are bombarded with the idea that around every corner is a threat from a rapist to a chemical company that will dump its waste and contaminate the water. But that fails to get across the true incidence of crime," says Dr. Edward Peeples, a medical sociologist at Medical College of Virginia.

"Violence is nothing new -- in the Middle Ages you could count on it that if you walked down a road, you'd get knocked on the head and your bag of money stolen. But we now are angered by crime and think we should be shielded from it by the veneer of civilization. The expectation is that modern life is a peaceful one and that the refinements of civility will protect us," he said.

To Dr. Peeples, crime and fear of crime are but a symptom of dissatisfaction with the way things are going, a symptom of alienation. "It's a matrix that [is] more than just a fear of crime," he said.

Put another way, "there's plenty of blame to go around," Judge Wilkinson says.

The finger of blame can be like a weather vane and shift easily in political winds.

The courts and the prison system are frequent targets. A commonly held scenario is that courts put handcuffs on police instead of criminals and then issue light sentences to those who are convicted, who then simply bide their time in lenient prisons before a willing parole board turns them loose to break the law again.

Questions about light or uneven sentencing aren't unusual.

Michael Morchower, a noted Richmond defense lawyer, is angered when he thinks about a recent case involving a former lawyer who admitted taking at least $58,000 from clients.

Richard Smouse was put on probation, but, Morchower says, "some young black kid with an eighth-grade education will go in and steal $75 from a merchant and point a .22 [caliber pistol] at him, and he'll get 15 years. Some slick lawyer steals from his clients and he gets probation. There's something not fair about that."

He said he thinks judges should be compelled to say why they are giving a sentence. Now, he said, the sentencing by judges is "pretty arbitrary and subjective."

Jury sentences, he adds, are "impossible to figure out."

In Virginia, the sentencing procedure is different in state and federal courts.

A federal court jury has no say in the length of the sentence for those it convicts; federal judges issue the term. But juries in state courts fix a prison term, which the judge can reduce but not increase. The jury's decision is almost always accepted.

A jury in a state court -- like Richmond Circuit Court -- must make its decision without knowing the defendant's criminal past, if any. Judges know.

"Mandatory sentencing is the No. 1 item," says Lt. Clyde Futrell, head of the investigative division of the Hanover County sheriff's department.

In mandatory sentencing, each person convicted of a crime would receive the same sentence. That is in effect now in a conviction of using a firearm in committing a felony -- one year in prison for the first offense and three years for a subsequent conviction.

Another measure along those lines is called uniform sentencing, which would set up categories so that someone convicted of a crime would get a base sentence of, say, 10 years. A judge or a jury could change that term, either up or down, only if some specific criteria were met.

The plans would eliminate parole as it is now. The parole board would supervise a mandatory year of probation after an inmate is released. The inmate could get "good time" while in prison, but no early release on parole.

None of the sentencing reform proposals has won the legislature's approval. The argument against them was that judges and juries need discretion. Maybe a crime is considered more serious in one community than in another -- horse theft might be a more serious crime in the minds of those living in Fauquier County than in Richmond.

It's still an open question.

Judge Merhige, whose courtroom wouldn't be directly affected by a change in the way state courts are run, says he opposes mandatory sentencing. "They've tried it in certain crimes in New York, and it didn't work."

He says he knows from his days as a lawyer that juries sometimes think a punishment too great for a crime and thus acquit a defendant. He says that he once had to give a mandatory five-year sentence to a priest for smuggling hashish for a friend and didn't think the sentence was appropriate.

Merhige says that in determining an appropriate sentence, he considers the defendant's background, including prior arrests even if there were no convictions. He also assesses why the crime was committed--"was it a stupid mistake or did he deliberately set out to hurt someone?"

He tries also to weigh the crime effect on the victim and the community, keeping in mind that "the public, who pays the bills, demands retribution."

He says he thinks too many people have been imprisoned. He says some must be imprisoned, since the public needs to be protected from them. But in other instances, he would imprison them only if he thought they would be rehabilitated.

The way to rehabilitate them, he says, is to educate them, especially to ensure that each could read and write. "Without those skills -- and many don't have them -- they've got little chance.

"I'd make the sons of bitches learn," Merhige declared. "I'd reward them for their educational requirements."

Terrell Don Hutto, director of the state Department of Corrections, says, however, that he is already seeing the effects of some changes in sentencing. "With the advent of special efforts to keep people out of prison," he says, "by the time we get them, they are confirmed in their habits and way of life.

"They are more difficult to handle because prisons are no longer an iron-fist-rule kind of operation. And I'm not giving veiled criticism but a fact of life."

Changes have been made in both classifying and disciplining inmates. They can't be sent to a higher-security institution only because a warden thinks they might be troublemakers, as was the case 15 to 20 years ago. They can no longer be put in isolation on the suspicion that they broke rules.

"You've got to have some pretty hard information, and due process has meant in a sense that sometimes you've got to wait until after something happens before you can take steps. All of those things have made some prisoners hard to handle," Hutto said.

He said he thinks there's a misconception about recidivism, the continuation of a life of crime after the inmate is released. He said that while the public generally thinks about two out of the three people repeat crimes, or about 67 percent, the national and state rates are closer to 25 percent to 33 percent.

The public also has a misconception about parole, says Pleasant C. Shields, chairman of the state Parole Board.

He said that last year only 37 percent of the 6,500 inmates interviewed for parole were granted it; about half who got it had been turned down before.

"We don't know how to combat it; we've been struggling with that over the years." But the perception of a liberal parole policy "seems to be the general conviction, not only on the part of the public but also with many commonwealth's attorneys, many judges, many people within the criminal justice system. They have formed the conclusion that parole eligibility and parole release are synonymous."

Many people don't understand the parole system or the board's criteria, he said. "They never ask questions about the more than 1,000 who successfully completed parole last year. It's the one person who is paroled and who violated parole -- that's when we have all the publicity," he said.

He said that while board members are aware of crowded conditions in prisons, he knows of no instance in which the parole qualifications or criteria were lowered to let a prisoner out.

Sa'ad El-Amin, a well-known defense layer in Richmond, said he sees the pressures as coming from the other direction.

He said that because of a public "hysteria" about crime, the criminal justice and corrections systems are being pressured for stiffer sentences and fewer paroles. Therefore, he said, "the system, in a sense, is beginning to collapse on itself" because of crowding and lack of money to build additional jails and prisons.

Plugged somewhere into the equation, too, are factors like the expanded interestate highway system that makes previously secluded areas accessible and escape possible, noted both Futrell of Hanover and H. Albert Nance Jr., Henrico County commonwealth's attorney.

Criminals can drive down from as far as Philadelphia and New York, "get off Interstate 95 and go through some of the more stable residential areas in the county, maybe in the state. Southerners by tradition keep heirlooms [particularly silver,] and it is a very fertile market for the professional. It is also extremely fertile for the local, redneck Mafia, if you want to call them that for lack of a better term," Nance said.

Futrell noted that people now hide items like silver that "they would have exhibited and been proud of."

Turning this around, though, is no easy chore.

"There's no quick solution. We didn't get here overnight, and we're not getting back overnight," Wilkinson said.

The judge and some others say, though, that they think traditional values are returning. "The pendulum is swinging back. [People] are looking for something more stable," Wilkinson said.

Charles D. Chambliss Jr., president of the predominately black Old Dominion Bar Association, said that a starting point must be a restoration of faith in government. Criminal activity in government, he said, "creates an atmosphere in which people are more apt to be lawless."

He said also that if spending reductions are made in governmental programs "that address basic human needs," some people might see no alternative but to steal to survive.

Budgetary problems are already evident in the ongoing dispute between city police and City Council, which voted not to give city employees a raise this year.

Chambliss said he didn't want to take sides in that dispute, saying both have good arguments. But the dispute, he said, can only serve to increase the public's fear of crime because citizens will be insecure about who will be on duty to protect them.

One way possibly to reduce fear is to increase the public's knowledge about -- and participation in -- the justice system, some suggest.

They seem to hold special hope for the Neighborhood Watch program, in which residents report suspicious people or incidents to the police.

The city's victim-witness program, a counseling effort, also is helping in "getting more cooperation out of people," said Aubrey M. Davis Jr., commonwealth's attorney for Richmond. He said that to keep the program at full strength, he laid off a secretary in another section and the office manager.

The success of programs like these is hard to assess, but they complement police efforts, said Maj. V. Stuart Cook, deputy chief for investigative operations for the Richmond bureau of police.

They help show the public that "crime is not uniquely the province of the police," he said.

The concept of the Neighborhood Watch program is "excellent in having people just talking with each other and restoring confidence that the neighborhood is watching and helpful," said Dr. Peeples.

The sociologist noted that more and more young and elderly people are living by themselves, a situation that could allow fear to fester. But some of that fear could be dissipated if they believe, by having watchful neighbors, that they're not alone or part of a hostile setting, he said.

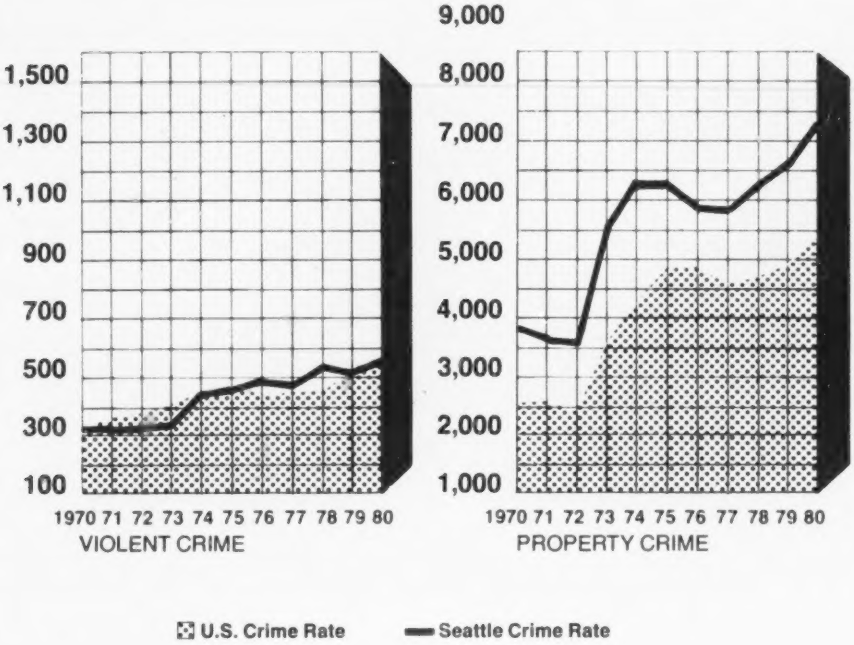
"It would help make a village out of a neighborhood."

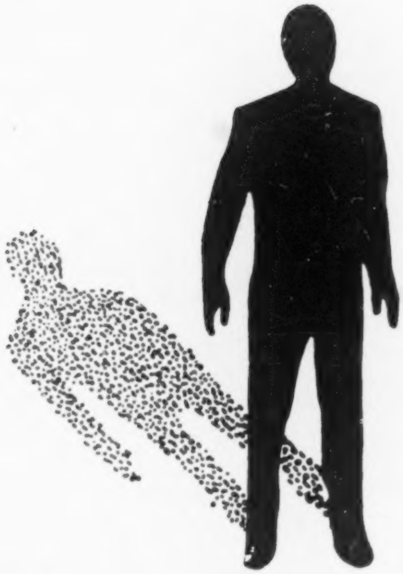
El-Amin, too, said he sees the impetus for growth within the Neighborhood Watch programs.

"People are becoming more and more concerned", he said, "about taking the streets back."

Seattle, Washington

Reported incidents per 100.000 population





SEATTLE, WASHINGTON

Prepared by the Seattle Time

She was alone in her ground-level apartment on lower Queen Anne hill, watching television late that night, when she noticed one of her cats was watching something -- or someone -- outside.

She peeked through the living room drapes and couldn't see anything in the darkness, at first. Then, as she looked across the courtyard, she saw a face watching her over the fence.

She quickly glanced around at the two other ground-floor apartments, and saw that the lights were out and nobody was home. Her friend from upstairs was gone, too.

A second face appeared over the fence ... watching her. They weren't looking for a place to burglarize. They must be after her.

She suddenly realized that nobody would be able to hear her if she screamed --

She dialed 911. Usually clear-headed in emergencies, Roseanne's hands were shaking, and her blood pumped so hard she thought her head would explode. Her voice quavering, she said something incoherent like, "two boys were climbing over the fence, and I'm the only one here ..." In her panic she couldn't remember her address. She had lived there a year, and had only recently overcome her fear of living alone.

Seconds seemed to last hours, as she waited for signs of the police arriving.

A face, a torso, a leg swung over the fence, then jumped back, as though surprised, and down out of sight. Maybe he saw a police officer. Maybe he was angry that she had called the police. Maybe he would come back later. Why was he after her?

* Written by Pamela J. Webber and Rhonda S. Tidrick

She was to piece together from neighbors and police reports that one of the two juveniles was stopped by police for questioning that night, found to have burglary tools in his possession, and was let go.

Her apartment was secure -- dead-bolt locks in the front door, locks and screens on the windows, and two locks on the sliding-glass door.

But now she realized how vulnerable to crime she was, and the reality that the police can't be everywhere at once.

Ironically, she had moved to the Queen Anne district because she heard it was one of the lower-crime neighborhoods.

She enrolled in a self-defense class so she wouldn't have to be haunted by her fear of crime. She learned how people, not physically strong, can temporarily overpower a potential rapist or mugger, and gain valuable seconds to run away.

Roseanne spent the next six months taking every precaution in every area of her life against being a victim of crime -- whether violence or robbery or both. She walked confidently, carried her keys as a weapon, varied her schedule, and played "what if" games in her mind to be ready for defense, if needed. She checked the back seat of her car before she got in, parked in lighted areas at night, and drove with her car doors locked.

Eventually, these precautions became a habit, as Roseanne forgot about the incident, and gained strength and confidence that she could defend herself if she became a victim of violent crime. She met with neighbors in the apartment building and on the block, and found that several of them had been robbed recently. She later started a block watch, a county and city program designed to help citizens protect each other.

Five years later, if you were to ask her, Roseanne wouldn't say she spends a lot of time thinking about how she fears crime. But if you asked her specifics, she'd come to realize how much the fear of crime -- and precautions against crime -- have permeated her lifestyle.

Yes, she still goes out at night, to classes or meetings and sometimes work. But now she walks with her senses alert, like a radar.

"People have to become more and more fed up with the increase in crime and realize they need to be a part of the solution," says Ed Watton, a block-watch leader in the Wallingford area of North Seattle.

The Seattle Times interviewed community leaders and citizens involved in the criminal-justice system, to find out what they thought about the causes and effects of crime, and to talk about solutions.

Why do men and women turn to crime? Opinions to that question ranged from a breakdown in the family to crime becoming a more profitable and secure business. Most solutions offered involved citizen intervention at every level -- from prevention to prosecution.

The following is the rest of Ed Watton's interview, along with 10 community leaders' opinion.

Ed Watton

Ed Watton believes in block-watch programs. But before citizens will unite against crime, they must adopt the attitude of, "I'm mad as hell and I'm not going to take it any more."

"People have to become more and more fed up with the increase in crime so that people will become more willing to do something about it," said Watton, who is the head of the Seattle Chamber of Commerce's crime and justice task force.

"I think it's like everything else in human nature, you have to change the public attitude or awareness. You finally realize that you have to be part of the solution instead of part of the problem.

"We'll probably overreact and then the pendulum will swing back in 15 years to another viewpoint."

People have to become fed up with the shady dealings of the criminal element, and others, before they will "get off their duffs and do something about it." And, unfortunately, people must realize that even buying hot goods for an affordable price is supporting crime.

"Even the guy who buys a stereo out of the back of a van to save some money is participating in crime. If a person didn't have a little touch of larceny in his heart, he wouldn't do (that)."

Plus, if there wasn't a market for crime, it wouldn't be such a lucrative business, Watton said.

But the problem of what causes crime and how it can be combatted is a complex one, he said.

"You can't single out one element out of many. Court delays, lacking prison space, etcetera, they are all factors. One thing that is a real problem is that people are picked up for probable cause and until they get to trial they are released."

This, he added, is by virtue of one of this nation's most fundamental documents, the Bill of Rights.

"Unfortunately, we have that presumption of innocence.

"The courts are just one of the symptoms of an overall problem. People don't want prisons near where they live and they don't want to pay the price of criminal justice."

Formerly a newspaper reporter for the Seattle Post-Intelligencer, Watton finds little connection between increased crime and news reporting.

"News reporting doesn't lead anybody. The news media are just responding to what people are interested in. The truth is, people are very interested in homicide in Magnolia; they want to know what is happening." He added that the only thing newspapers are guilty of is news competitiveness.

One the other hand, Watton does feel that glamorizing crime by all facets of the media contributes to increased crime.

"The ease of information dissemination is making these facts (such as the details of murders and thefts) more readily available. (Transmiting the idea that crime is O.K.) is just another person's idea of what is socially acceptable."

Guns are commonly seen on television, and it is possible more people are getting the idea they may better protect themselves if they have one. But this is not so, according to Watton.

"I personally can't understand why people have hand guns. It bothers me that it is felt there is a need for that kind of protection."

The more positive approach to protecting oneself and one's property is through block-watch programs, and he has seen them work in his own neighborhood.

"In the suburbs there is a great move that surfaced two years ago of more people installing burglar alarms and locks and more and more people are looking out for one another. In Medina, a wealthy suburb of Seattle on the east side of Lake Washington (where Watton lives and is Mayor,) the police department has organized block informational meetings focusing on good security. "More people are watching out for their neighbor's property. They are becoming more aware of the dangers."

Seattle, Washington

Mark Howard

Mark Howard, Director of Community Crime Prevention for the Seattle Police Department, says crime prevention will become more important, especially as federal funds become more scarce.

"Community involvement is the fourth component in the criminal justice system," he says, "along with police, courts, and corrections."

His department targets high burglary neighborhoods and holds block-watch workshops, training people to organize block meetings, exchange ideas about neighborhood crime, and mark their property. So far, the program has gone into 45,000 homes -- about one third of the homes in the city of Seattle.

The areas of the city with the most rapes are Capitol Hill, Rainier Valley and downtown Seattle, Howard says, noting that social support services may have increased the number of rapes reported and that the actual number of rapes may not have increased the 20% shown last year in statistics.

Murder was up 66 percent in 1980, 38 in 1979 and 63 in 1980. Aggravated assault and robbery were both up 7 percent, residential burglaries were up 16 percent, and larceny was up 15.5 percent.

More people are reporting crimes, Howard says, so the statistical rise in crime may not reflect an actual rise in crime.

The media is partly to blame for an increase in crime, he said. When sensational stories about increasing crime are highlighted, the public's fear level increases, especially when no solutions are offered.

"People are getting inundated with the problems and locking themselves up. If people are afraid to go out at night, it's easier for them to become victims -- they play right into the criminals' hands," Howard says.

He says community involvement is the solution neighborhoods need to start a communications network and get acquainted to fight crime. "Neighbors need to get acquainted with each other because the likelihood of the patrol officers seeing suspicious behavior is slight," Howard says.

Along with the block-watch programs, the Seattle Police Department publishes pamphlets on personal safety and reducing the risk of rape, educates bank tellers about bank-robbery prevention, and sends "Officer Friendly" to schools to talk about school safety and to help citizens prevent crime.

Reg Bruce

Reg Bruce, Executive Director of the Seattle Citizens Council Against Crime, says better communication and coordination is needed between each component of the criminal-justice system.

"Each component is interdependent. The police arrest more people than the prosecutor can handle, the prosecutor prosecutes more than the courts can handle, the courts send more people to prison than the prisons can handle, the prisons parole more people than the parole officers can handle," he says.

His private, nonprofit organization was formed in 1972. In 1975, the Citizens Council Against Crime met with police, prosecutors, judges, parole officers, defense attorneys and citizens to try to find out what the solvable problems were. The three areas needing immediate attention, he concluded, were:

* increased probation and parole;
* increased diversity of secure facilities;
* better communication and record-keeping within the criminal-justice system.

Long-range solutions would require exhaustive investigation, Bruce said.

"We've yet to see the added effects of mandatory sentencing in 1982," Bruce says, adding that improvements need to be made in the types and number of post-incarceration and work-release programs.

Problem areas he thinks need a closer look are alcohol and narcotics. "Drugs and narcotics and alcohol play a far larger role in crime than we're willing to admit, especially alcohol," he said.

In the next ten years, Bruce predicts more people will move back into the cities, and Seattle street crimes might increase as the city grows.

Judge Jack Scholfield

King County Superior Court Judge Jack Scholfield says to understand the causes of crime, "you really have to go back to the baby in its mother's arms -- crime starts with the way a child is raised, and family life. If you take the case histories of people who commit serious felonies, you'll find a high percentage of them had a deprived childhood, often as victims of abuse and neglect, who grew up in homes where they weren't helped to develop self-esteem."

"Seldom do I see a case history where a person came from a loving, stable home with educational opportunities," who later become a criminal, he said.

Some people want to blame schools, courts and prisons for the amount of contact kids have with criminals. "I don't think any of those institutions are the real cause. I think it's the type of person who merged out of his early childhood environment.

"I wouldn't say anybody is irredeemable. There usually seems to be some possibility of rehabilitation."

Dick Sugiyama

Dick Sugiyama, Director of the Victim/Witness Advocacy and Referral Project, says not enough people are getting involved in services for victims of violent crimes. His organization provides services such as emergency housing, moral support and education about the court system for victims and witnesses of violent crimes.

Though the staffers are part of the police department, they are not police officers. Their role is to help people be good witnesses and help with the prosecution of criminals.

The Victim/Witness Advocacy staffers screen the police reports weekly. They then contact victims at hospitals or at home, find out the status of the case, educate them about what to expect in court, and protect them from intimidation during the court procedure and through the time when the criminal becomes eligible for people. The victim is given a chance to write a letter to the judge before sentencing, and to get counseling referrals for the aftermath, if required.

"The people who can least afford it are the ones most often victimized," says Sugiyama, noting that 68 percent of his clients are low income. Fifty-seven percent are women, 35 percent are non-white, and 20 percent are elderly victims.

The Victim/Witness Advocacy and Referral Project works to help all kinds of people from pharmacists to street winos, he says.

"We've seen Reagan and the Pope get shot. We know what kind of services they're going to get. All victims need to have somebody to help, especially since they are part of the criminal-justice system."

In Seattle, there are about 100 violent crimes a month, Sugiyama says, adding that robbery victims are psychologically traumatized, too.

Newspapers need to write more in-depth articles about what crime is, and offer causes and solutions, he says. More stories are needed about services for victims, and where citizens can get involved in fighting crime -- such as block watches and home security.

"On the surface, (our organization) looks like a social service. But our focus is crime reduction -- if we help victims of crime, they're more cooperative and effective witnesses. We get stronger cases, increased convictions, and crime reduction," Sugiyama says.

Carl Holtman

Carl Holtman of the Public Defender's Office says the causes of crime are multifaceted, and that more than just the symptoms and crime statistics should be addressed.

In his role as a public defender, Holtman sees only the people who can't afford an attorney. "I don't really know why they get involved in crime. Poverty seems to be a major force. So do economic and personal failures," he says.

What nobody knows is, why two people in the same situation or environment, as it appears from the outside, go in two different directions he says.

Holtman sees society wanting more punishment in the criminal-justice system. And the efforts to standardize sentences in this state will minimize his role as a public defender. "It's more important to do the right thing for the individual than to equalize treatment," he says.

"As a defense attorney, my role will be reduced if I can't have an individual effect on my client's outcome."

"Nobody is looking at crowded institutions -- and how much more crowded they will be with more certainty of punishment," he says of future trends.

Randy Revelle

Randy Revelle, county executive and former member of the Public Safety and Justice Committee of the Seattle city council, says the quality of the criminal justice system is directly related to the willingness of citizens to get involved.

The Public Safety and Justice Committee considers legislative matters relating to crime prevention, law enforcement, public safety and the administration of justice.

"A better family life, better schools, quality recreational services and less violent television," are some answers he offers to preventing crime. "Parents need to be good citizens and be responsible -- and teach their kids to be responsible citizens," he says.

He sees the press as being too sensational in its crime coverage. Rarely do the newspapers present a balanced picture of crime, statistics are misinterpreted on the short term, and more refinement of information is needed, he says.

"The criminal-justice system is just that -- a system, and how good it is depends on the result of a wide variety of what agencies and individuals do or don't do. We're collectively involved," he says.

"We need to systematically decide what the problems are, decide on strategy, and attack with the police and community citizens working together," he says.

Cecil Taylor

Cecil Taylor is already convinced that a block-watch program will be a successful crime fighter in his neighborhood. Although the Wallingford Block Watch was only conceived six weeks ago, the head of a 33-block district has noticed a definite change on his block. For one, the neighbors know each other better.

A block watch works, Taylor said, because it involves an entire community. "More specifically, it involves a block; more specifically than that, it involves 18 families. They are telling each other their problems, they are communicating crimes they see committed."

A block-watch program goes deeper than being on the lookout for crime, Taylor said. It involves families working out all kinds of problems, domestic and otherwise, together.

"You're not just helping people to put locks on their doors or bars on their windows," he said, "but you are also inviting that family into your home to see how you live and, likewise, how they live."

"The whole nation needs to take problems into that block family and help out. They need to offer support, offer solutions to their problems." By doing this, he explained, families can help other families with problem members, hopefully, diverting potentially criminal behavior into more positive directions.

"I know that people are influenced by peers, but the home is the place where there should be communication until you get the kid thinking for himself," Taylor said, referring to statistics which show most of neighborhood crime is committed by youths who live in the area.

"I'm all for having problem kids included in the block family rather than kicked out of the neighborhood. Give them a job, pay them well for it, and give them a pat on the back. We all need pats on the back."

His words to convicted criminals, however, are much more harsh. He is in favor of strong penalties for the convicted, including capital punishment.

"Not locking up criminals is as big a crime as is being committed, he said, adding what we have in our society today is not justice, but simply law."

"Justice is if you commit a crime, you have to pay for it. People get off when they should not get off because of the way the case is presented or sometimes because the case gets to trial too slow."

"I think that is one reason why westerns are so appealing to people. It is simple and fast justice. He shot him, so the sheriff shoots back."

Taylor feels that more people are participating in crime these days, not outright but simply by supporting it.

"The guy who buys from a crook on the street is just as guilty as the crook. In fact, there isn't anything in this neighborhood you can't get from some young person cheaply, and it's that way in all neighborhoods."

Taylor has been approached several times behind his place of business by youths selling wrist watches and miscellaneous knick-knacks. He said the kids have appeared behind the shop three times a year for the past five years.

Kids are turning to crime today because they are bored, he said. With lack of supervision at home and little concern from their parents, they find ways to keep themselves busy and draw attention.

"I've asked kids why they scream obscenities; why they harrass older people; why they tear up lawns, their answer: "Well I ain't got nothin' else to do. No one cares about them, so why not?

"They need strong discipline strongly tempered with love," said the man who has lived in his neighborhood for 26 years and who has been active with his church for 18 years.

Young people need more neighborhood programs to draw them away from the family television set and to get them involved positively with other youths. By being involved with other youths and adults in a positive, "you're o.k." atmosphere, Taylor is convinced that any youth can take a new direction in life. All they need is someone who cares and is interested in them.

Between Taylor and his wife, who each have been married before, they have raised 10 children.

Tom Malone

Tom Malone, President of the Ballard Chamber of Commerce, and an attorney, does not think crime is really on the increase.

Malone believes that victims are reporting crime more often, and that there is more coverage of it. The result, he noted, has been neighborhood block watches, which he is in favor of.

"Tension is increasing and the reaction has been to communicate with neighbors," he says.

His solution to crime would involve a close system of reporting and supervision of offenders between the most violent ages. Charles Silberman, an expert author on crime, says the most violent ages are between 16 and 24. Those who are older would be under less strict supervision.

Malone said he believes the justice system is an adequate deterrent to crime. But on the topic of guns he said he would be willing "to try any legislation that would restrict hand guns."

"I have dealt with a number of people who have injured other people with hand guns. I don't think they would have done it if they hadn't had hand guns. (Limiting hand guns) might deter a crime committed in the heat of passion," he said. But he does not feel gun legislation would have any effect on premeditated crimes.

A determined criminal, he said, "could probably buy a gun somewhere."

Malone has also dealt with a number of people who have been on drugs while they committed crimes, and others who were being charged with drug-related crimes.

"They have a tremendous influence on crime . . . But the Number One drug in America that causes more problems is alcohol. It plays a significant role in domestic problems and crime."

He added that other drugs cause equally serious problems because they alter behavior and create a climate for crime to fester.

"I am even leaning toward legalization of certain drugs (like marijuana) only because they have become a tremendous industry," he said.

The present situation, he said, is very similar to the days of prohibition, because of the millions of dollars being made in black-market drug sales.

Bishop Walsh

Bishop Nicolas Walsh of the Catholic Archdiocese of Seattle was shocked when he read that at least 50 percent of street crime is committed by kids between the ages of 11 and 17. It so moved him that he began visiting schools around the state. He went to 562 classrooms in one year.

"There is an effort now to provide moral education in the schools. There is also a new emphasis on strengthening scholastic ties with the family," he says.

Bishop Walsh also recognizes the urgency for more church and community activities to keep young people busy during the summer. The Catholic church is already implementing more programs for youth, as well as putting members of the clergy on the street to work with problem juveniles.

"So many people are made heroes by the publicity (in newspapers and on television). People are moved to commit crimes because of the interest it creates among the general population," he says.

Bishop Walsh sees a definite connection between crime and those who feel no one cares about them or loves them.

"These bumper stickers that say 'Have you hugged your child today?' really put the finger on it," he said, adding that if no one cares about an individual, that person is not likely to care about himself or others.

But Bishop Walsh, who has lived and worked in South American slums, feels there is little or no connection between unemployment or poverty and crime.

"I have lived in the poorest barrios in South America and I can't say they were worse (in terms of crime) than the people living on the hill," he says.

"Unemployment creates idleness. The unemployed have more time and greater temptation to become involved in crime. However, I haven't seen any indication of a connection between poverty and crime. These people get used to standard of living, and so the temptation is not so great."

Awareness may be the key to combatting crime, Bishop Walsh says.

"As awareness of crime itself grows among people, I think this will be one of the solutions. Information itself is very valuable, people will finally have enough of (crime) and then start acting themselves. Not by taking the law into their own hands, but by working through whatever legal means they have, to educate children and adults morally."

"I've heard people blaming the lack of moral education on the schools, but I think that's too easy. It goes back to something deeper than that. It goes back to the home and the moral code that comes from convictions directed by God," he says.

Jo Ann Brekke

Jo Ann Brekke's feelings about neighborhoods uniting to protect themselves are similar to Wattons. But she looks at the trend as being a return to some very old ideas rather than a move toward something new.

"We are experiencing a stronger sense of community again. Society is relearning some old lessons," the State House of Representatives member said.

"The last half of the century we have experienced isolationism; it has been a negative response (to crime). Community institutions, such as churches, are lessening in number and impact, and society left behind older structures and restraints (neighbors looking out for neighbors).

"But now I see them finally doing something positive," she said, adding that "one in nine homes expecting to be burglarized is pretty appalling."

Ms. Brekke, a Democrat, is originally a small-town girl. She has been transplanted to the heart of Seattle's Wallingford district. After being raised in a town where she felt safe walking anywhere at any hour of the day or night, she is now encouraging her daughters to be more cautious.

But she is finding it hard to adjust. She still walks late at night and she does not carry any kind of protection. But, she explained, she feels secure because she is a large woman, solidly built, and she would probably "kill anyone who tried" to attack her.

"Carriage, walk and appearance are a woman's first defense," she said.

She placed the blame of rising crime on the decay of the family structure.

"The nuclear family is bound to be unsuccessful," she said, explaining that a nuclear family is one which revolves around a single parent. "The children of these families lack support and discipline. There is a loss of traditional and community pressures which helped conform children to socially acceptable behavior.

She said she hope "humans can find other resilient support factors to replace the old."

Many juveniles are involved in crime "because the parents are working outside of the home, there are few other adults keeping an eye on them. Consequently, they have very few restraints. Discipline is breaking down by letting kids do whatever they want."

She does not feel the answer to discouraging crime is imposing longer sentences, although she does agree that fewer people should be let off because of flukes.

"We need shorter sentences, not longer ones. . . There needs to be more seeking after the truth rather than desire just to win. We need more forms of punishment that are less vindictive."

Television is not altogether an adverse influence on children, she said. Although the majority of what kids see on t.v. is negative, some programs can open doors in areas that the child might never have experienced otherwise, like science, she said.

"But sitting in front of the boob tube does become an excuse for not experiencing life for themselves."

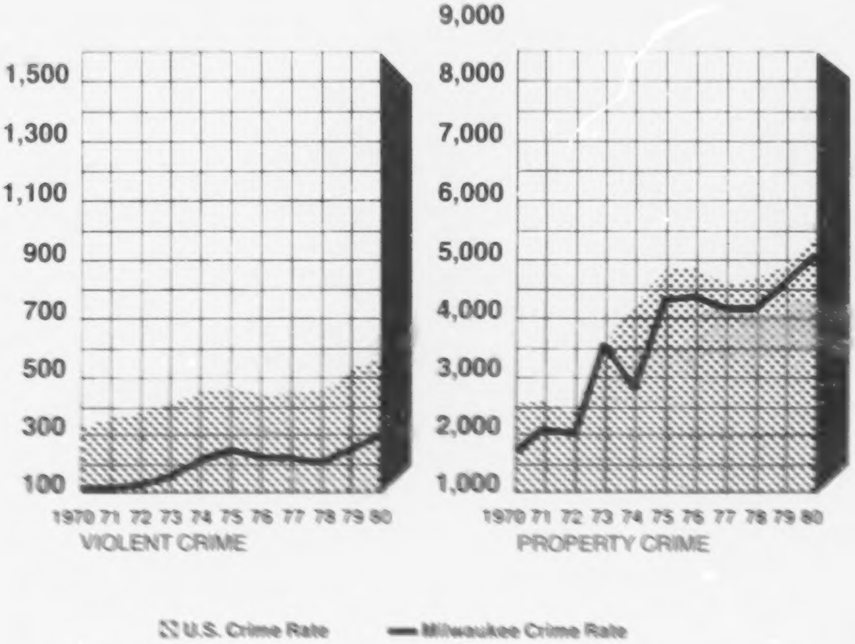
The new horror-movie fad may be very detrimental, she said. "These movies may act to make us less sensitive to violent crime."

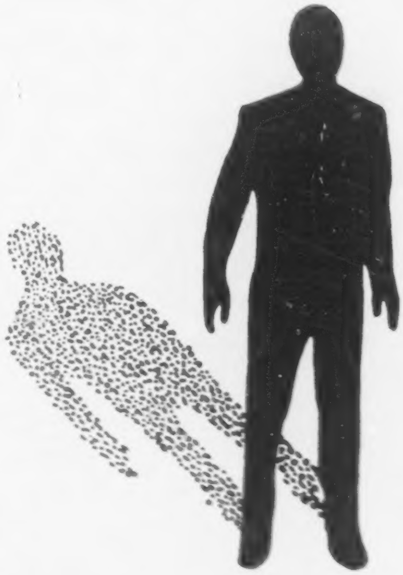
Her solution to the problem would involve more education for potential criminals rather than for communities.

"Unless there is additional help for kids who aren't going to learn easily, we can't lick this problem. Especially if 80 percent of the people in prison have learning disabilities."

Milwaukee, Wisconsin

Reported incidents per 100,000 population





MILWAUKEE, WISCONSIN

Prepared by the Milwaukee Journal*

Thirty years ago, Victor Manian was a policeman on the beat in the Inner City of Milwaukee, an area that has traditionally had the highest crime rate in the city.

"I used to walk in the Inner City all by myself from midnight until 8 a.m. -- and I never felt insecure," the former policeman said.

But three decades have passed -- full of social change, racial tension and increasing poverty for most American cities, including Milwaukee.

Would Manian, now chief judge in Milwaukee County, walk those same streets past midnight again?

Manian paused just seconds before answering.

"Yes," he replied firmly. "People are people.

"You know, people always think the good old days were better than today. What they tend to forget is that these will be the good old days in the future."

Across the Downtown, City Attorney James Brennan revealed that he felt so safe in his city that for years he did not keep the doors to his home locked.

"There is a lot of unreasonable, irrational fear about crime," said Brennan, adding that this was particularly unfortunate in a city with a low crime rate like Milwaukee.

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* Written by Barbara Dembski

Brennan provided two examples. He and his wife recently attended a play at North Division High School, in the Middle of Milwaukee's black neighborhood. They felt safe and comfortable, he said.

Additionally, Brennan helps coach track on the grounds of South Division High School, an area near the city's Latin neighborhood, and another area where he said he felt safe.

"There is a not a neighborhood in Milwaukee you can't go into," said Brennan, paraphrasing a remark made so often by city leaders here that it has almost become an official truism.

But then there is Michael McGee's view of his neighborhood, which is on the beat that Manian walked 30 years ago, and not too far from the high school where the city attorney enjoyed his play.

A black resident of the Inner City, and director of a crime prevention program called Project Respect, McGee became involved in the fight against crime seven years ago when he returned from a tour of duty in Vietnam and was appalled at the mugging of his elderly grandmother.

McGee pointed one recent day to the busy traffic on N. 3rd St., the main street of Milwaukee's black neighborhood. The street is almost deserted at night, McGee said, because neighborhood people are afraid to leave their homes.

As a result, McGee contined, "they are leaving the streets to the cirminal element."

Shaking his head sadly, he said, "Crime is getting closer and closer."

At first glance, it might appear that Manian and Brennan live in a different city that McGee. And in some respects they do, since Milwaukee remains a largely segregated city.

The discrepancies in their remarks might be explained by the fact that, because of their official positions, Manian and Brennan are very aware of statistics that list Milwaukee as a city with a relatively low crime rate. People who know this sometimes argue that this city's citizens need not live with a dreadful, somewhat formless fear of crime invading their personal lives.

But additional discussion makes it clear that Manian, Brennan and other city leaders interviewed for this project are only too painfully aware that fear of crime is as much a part of life for some Milwaukeeans as love of beer -- even though that fear may not be as justified here as in other places.

So although Brennan feels personally safe in every Milwaukee neighborhood, he knows that others don't. Indeed, some suburbanites confess that they travel elaborate routes to get from one point to another just to avoid Milwaukee's black neighborhoods and Latin areas.

And although Manian feels he could walk through Milwaukee's central city at night, he knows that people here "are afraid to walk on their streets, afraid to leave their homes, afraid in their homes."

Milwaukee County District Attorney E. Michael McCann summed it up when he said there were two populations in Milwaukee -- those who had a justified fear of crime, including the elderly, and those whose fear transcends reality.

"If you live at peace with your wife, don't work in an all-night food store, don't go to about 15 violent saloons in the city and don't deal in drugs, in most neighborhoods in Milwaukee your chances of getting murdered are infinitessimal," the district attorney said. He added that in most neighborhoods one's chances of getting assaulted were not much larger.

A key word used by McCann -- indeed, perhaps the key word of this whole report on Milwaukee -- may be neighborhood. Those Milwaukeeans who live in areas that reflect their city's low crime rate probably feel reasonably safe in their own neighborhoods.

Indeed, a study done by the Metropolitan Milwaukee Criminal Justice Council in 1980 showed that 57% of the 432 county residents surveyed felt as safe in their neighborhoods as they did 5 or 10 years earlier.

Perhaps Milwaukee, long the bastion of front-porch-stoop sitting and summer block parties, is a place where fear of crime takes a more recognizable form only when one leaves the confines of one's own neighborhood.

That's the sense of Alderman Kevin O'Connor, who represents Milwaukee's downtown and some of the neighborhoods that surround it.

Says O'Connor: "The fear of crime is not exaggerated, we find it in attitude surveys. But the feeling [of people here] is that their neighborhood, the area from the street to the alley, is safe. It is the other ones that are not."

Charges Unfairness

But O'Connor feels that his Downtown district is unfairly singled out by crime reporters as one such unsafe neighborhood. He feels that outlying shopping centers are every bit as unsafe.

Manian finds the fear of other neighborhoods to be true when he examines the excuses offered by people asking to be excused from jury duty. A fair number of prospective jurors say they are afraid to come Downtown, Manian said. They don't want to wait for a bus in the heart of the city after dark.

But not all Milwaukeeans have to take a bus ride in order to get to a neighborhood with a high crime rate. Some, like McGee, live there.

For them, the feeling about a neighborhood is different. McGee cites statistics from a survey done by his Project Respect last summer as part of the campaign to get neighbor helping neighbor in the fight against crime. Of 350 persons surveyed, all said they knew someone who had been a victim of crime. And 8 out of 10 said they had been personally victimized by crime.

William Feyerherm, an assistant professor in the criminal justice program in the school of Social Welfare at the University of Wisconsin -- Milwaukee, agreed with McGee that victimization due to crime was greatest in poor Inner City neighborhoods.

But Feyerherm noted that all neighborhoods in Milwaukee were changing. Not only are some of them poorer, but many are inhabited by people who don't stay long enough in one place to really know their neighbors.

"Maybe fear is the price we pay for mobility," the professor said. He also said that in cities like Milwaukee, where school busing was used to integrate the schools, people were less likely to know their neighbors. If your child doesn't go to school with the child down the street, they are less likely to play together when school is out, he said. And you as a parent are less likely to interact with that neighbor-child's parents.

None of this is happening overnight. Milwaukee still has its heritage of cohesive neighborhoods and the informal social controls inherent in them, Feyerherm said.

That is one reason, McCann said, why Milwaukee still tends to be "a peaceful city with a law-abiding population."

National statistics bear McCann out.

According to the 1980 federal census, Milwaukee is the 16th largest city in the United States, with a population of 622,989. It has slipped from the 12th place it held in 1970, when its population was 717,372.

Yet according to the FBI in figures released in 1980, Milwaukee ranked 26th among the nation's largest cities with regard to incidence of major crime. Milwaukee reported only 655 crimes per 10,000 population -- or 1.2 murders, 3.4 rapes, 28 robberies and 152 burglaries per 10,000 people.

The FBI ranked a city of similar size, Miami, at the top of its list, with a total of 1,485 crimes per 10,000 population, or 6.2 murders, 9.2 rapes, 195 robberies and 388 burglaries per 10,000 population.

Despite these encouraging national statistics, always noted with pride by city officials at the time of their release each year, crime is increasing in Milwaukee.

According to a report issued by the crime information bureau of the Wisconsin Department of Justice, major crimes in Milwaukee County have increased 7%, from 56,884 in 1979 to 60,703 in 1980. Major crimes are those commonly called crime-index offenses, and include murder, forcible rape, robbery, aggravated assault, burglary, theft, motor vehicle theft and arson.

Violent crime in Milwaukee County also increased 7% in the same period, from 3,620 in 1979 to 3,926 in 1980. Violent crimes are defined as murder, forcible rape, robbery and aggravated assault.

The fastest-growing crime in Milwaukee County in 1980, as in the nation, was robbery, with one-third more committed in 1980 than in 1979 in Milwaukee County, according to the Metropolitan Milwaukee Criminal Justice Council.

Based on his observations, James Romenesko, who has covered the police beat for The Milwaukee Journal for the past few years, said the increase in robberies ran the gamut from bank robbery to purse snatchings.

Romenesko and District Attorney McCann also brought up the increasing role of drugs in criminal activity in Milwaukee. Romenesko noted the number of people who were on drugs when committing an offense, or the crimes committed to finance a drug habit. And McCann cited violent confrontations between dealers, who settle their differences with guns because they cannot take their illegal business pursuits into a court of law.

Unusual Is Played Up

Because of the increase in some types of crimes, Romenesko does not feel they are played up as much as they once were in the media. "Now we publish only if there is something highly unusual about it," he said.

But it is the playing up of the unusual with regard to crime that contributes to the fear of crime by the general populace, according to several of the persons interviewed.

McCann said, for example, that most of the homicides in Milwaukee were committed by people who knew their victims, often a relative or a girlfriend or boyfriend. These stories are played down in the media, he said.

But the chance of victimization -- like a recent homosexual rape and murder of a young black child whose body was found in the Milwaukee River -- attracts the attention of the media and feeds the fears of the public, even if the chance of such an event taking place in most lives is small, McCann said.

"The public perception is that crime is actually worse than it is," said Manian, who maintained that violence is one of the unfortunate byproducts of a society that enjoys a great deal of personal freedom.

Manian also mentioned the media, noting that television in particular, with its immediacy and personal nature, also feeds the public perception that crime is everywhere.

So if there is a particularly heinous crime in Dallas or Chicago, and if it is broadcast in your living room in Milwaukee, "it all blends in your head," the chief judge said.

Perhaps that explains why, in the wake of a brutal rape and murder of a young woman in northern Wisconsin a few years ago, a case that attracted a great deal of media attention, Wisconsin voters in April approved a bail referendum to allow judges to deny bail in some cases. Some feel it is a form of preventive detention. A Madison judge has issued a temporary injunction barring the controversial amendment from taking effect.

Some think the passage of that referendum was a repudiation of the judiciary by voters who fear crime and who feel that the criminal justice system is not doing enough about it.

Manian says such criticism of the criminal justice system is unfair, particularly in Milwaukee County. He noted that when he served in the district attorney's office several years ago, it was not all that uncommon for a person to sit in jail for over a year before his case was tried.

Now fewer than 100 days elapse between the time of arrest and the disposition of most cases, Manian said. And this is taking place at a time when the judiciary has to deal with "the cumbersome, troublesome, expensive machinery" mandated by the US Supreme Court in the 1960s and 1970s for greater protection of the rights of the accused, he said.

The courts should be admired for taking that machinery and making it work, Manian said. Instead, perhaps not unnaturally, he observed, people want more.

Stephen Ziarnik of the Metropolitan Milwaukee Criminal Justice Council can take an outsider's view of the judiciary -- he agrees with Manian that it operates well in Milwaukee County.

"We've been fortunate," Ziarnik said. "We have strong judges and a strong chief judge."

But again, in some respects, there are two Milwaukees. McGee said the courts here were "in pretty bad disorder and in need of repair."

McGee charges that the backlog slows down the process and that unequal punishments are meted out. He says white collar criminals -- often white -- receive better treatment in the courts than a black criminal who steals $10.

He cited two recent cases in which Wisconsin men were found innocent of crimes they were convicted of after serving years in prison.

Manian and most of the leaders interviewed object to a call for mandatory sentences, particularly with regard to violent crimes.

"Our prisons are already bulging," Manian said. He noted that Wisconsin prisons were so overcrowded that officials were mulling a proposal to send Wisconsin inmates to less-crowded prisons in Minnesota.

Still, Manian is aware of the pressure and is serving on a committee that is discussing more specific sentencing guidelines for certain crimes.

Neighborhoods in Focus

Then what is the answer? What must be done if crime is to decrease and if fear of crime is to diminish? Even in cities like Milwaukee, where neither has reached epidemic proportions?

McGee feels the answer is in the neighborhood.

"People are fearing crime but are not doing anything about it." If they were organized, he contined, they could build the same kind of clout developed by the civil rights and women's liberation movements.

So McGee wants to see more neighborhood block clubs and neighborhood watch programs like the one used by Project Respect. In that program, signs identify houses whose occupants keep an eye out for their neighbor and for their neighbor's property.

John Duncan, who heads the Metropolitan Milwaukee Association of Commerce, has words of praise for Milwaukee's independent police department -- a force so independent that its current chief serves for life. Others agree with Duncan that the police deserve much credit for the city's low crime rate.

Duncan, however, favors stiff penalties for crime, including, in some cases, capital punishment.

But Duncan also feels that unless Milwaukee and Wisconsin become more competitive economically, more and more business firms will move out and unemployment will increase.

Unemployment Cited

Duncan and others saw a link between unemployment and crime. In 1980 in Milwaukee, joblessness among blacks and other non-whites averaged 18% in the metropolitan area, with total unemployment for all races in the four-county metropolitan area averaging 6.3%. That puts Milwaukee among the five highest cities among the 30 metropolitan areas surveyed for black unemployment by the US Bureau of Labor Statistics.

Manian said that in an ideal world, more jobs for young people should be created. And like McGee, he said that a need for a sense of community in neighborhoods was very real.

"People who feel their neighborhoods are safe know who their neighbors are," he said.

The one area where some leaders felt it might be impossible to reduce fear of crime was among the elderly. That problem may be hopeless given the vulnerability of the old, both physically and economically, McCann said. And the future for this situation is gloomy, given the end of a county program that provided security aides to escort senior citizens and to provide a visible safety presence in areas where the elderly frequently fall victim.

But Ziarnik said many effective crime prevention programs beyond the security aides were at work in the Milwaukee area. He cited a program that paid for locks to be installed in the homes of robbery victims, increased patrol of county parks (and a resulting drop in crime and vandalism last summer), an identification program to mark valuables in the home, and neighborhood watch programs like the one run by Project Respect.

There are other programs as well. Alderman Roy Nabors has proposed placing concrete beams and planters in streets in parts of his district in order to create smaller, more self-contained neighborhoods and to keep intruders out. And a Northwest Side group will be using bicycles this summer to patrol its neighborhood, hoping that a visible, uniformed presence will make people feel safer.

Ziarnik had particularly high praise for some programs that operated out of the district attorney's office, many of them funded by the now defunct Law Enforcement Assistance Administration. He noted that McCann had set up, with federal funds, special units to deal with white collar crime, career criminals, serious offenders and arson.

McCann mourns the death of LEAA and a cutting of federal and state funds that may halt other programs in his office that were particularly set up to aid the victim -- such as the victim assistance program and the unit that helped victims of sexual assault.

McCann said that although he was an optimist by nature, he thought the short-term future for the city in its fight against crime was bleak.

"There is too much going to national defense and too little to local tranquility," McCann said. "The Milwaukee County district attorney will have less resources to fight crime next year."

McCann also said federal cutbacks might lead to fewer police officers in Milwaukee. This would occur in a department already understaffed and having trouble meeting the guidelines for hiring minorities and women set in federal affirmative-action lawsuits.

Manian noted sadly that while police officers on the street -- including those on the beat, much like the one he walked years ago -- improved the public's feeling about safety, the Milwaukee force sometimes does not have enough officers to staff its available squad cars.

Anyone who says the future is rosy with regard to fighting crime in the city is a damn fool, says McCann.

So is the crime rate in Milwaukee destined to rise?

"At one time I thought that with a continued population drop the crime rate would drop," McCann said. "Now I am not so sure."

Appendix

Arizona Republic, article written by Pat Sallen, August 2, 1981.

Los Angeles Magazine, article written by Kathleen Neumeyer, August 1981.

The Sunday Denver Post, article written by Kit Miniclier, July 12, 1981.

Miami News, article written by Verne Williams, August 29, 1981.

Chicago Sun Times, article written by Michael Kordts, November 10, 1981

The Detroit News, article written by Gene Schabath, August 3, 1981.

The Minneapolis Star, article written by David Peterson, Katherine Skiba and Christine Hudgins.

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, article written by James Floyd, July 16, 1981.

Cleveland Plain Dealer, article written by John P. Coyne.

Memphis Press-Scimitar, article written by Leonard A. Novarro, July 31, 1981.

Dallas Morning News, August 2, 1981.

Richmond Times-Dispatch, article written by Thomas R. Morris, July 26, 1981.

Seattle Times, article written by Pamela J. Wesser and Rhond S. Tidrick, December 22, 1981.

Milwaukee Journal/Sunday Forum, article written by Barbara Dembski, July 12, 1981.

Appendix

The following defines the precise areas used in the graphs which appear at the beginning of each chapter:

Phoenix (includes Maricopa County)

Los Angeles - Long Beach (includes Los Angeles County)

Denver - Boulder (1970-1972 includes Adams, Arapahoe, Boulder, Denver and Jefferson Counties)
1973 also includes Gilpin County
1974-1980 also includes Douglas County

Miami (includes Dade County)

Chicago (includes Cook, Du Page, Kane, Lake, McHenry and Will Counties)

Detroit (1970-1972 includes MaComb, Oakland and Wayne Counties
1973-1980 also includes LaPeer, Livingston and Saint Clair Counties)

Minneapolis - St. Paul (1970-1972 includes Anoka, DaKota, Hennepin, Ramsey and Washington Counties, Minn.
1973-1980 also includes Carver, Chisago, Scott and Wright Counties, Minnesota, and Saint Croix County, Wisconsin)

St. Louis (1970-1972 includes St. Louis City and Jefferson, St. Charles, St. Louis and Franklin Counties, Missouri, and Madison and St. Clair Counties, Illinois
1973-1980 also includes Clinton and Monroe Counties, Illinois)

Cleveland (includes Cuyahoga, Lake, Geauga and Medina Counties)

Memphis (1970-1972 includes Shelby County, Tenn. and Crittendon County, Arkansas
1973-1980 also includes Tipton County, Tenn. and De Soto County, Miss.)

Dallas - Fort Worth (1970-1972 includes Collin, Dallas, Denton, Ellis, Kaufman and Rockwell Counties.
1973-1780 also includes Hood, Johnson, Parker, Tarrant and Wise Counties)

Richmond 1970-1972 includes Richmond City and Henrico, Chesterfield and Hanover Counies
1973-1977 also includes Charles City, Goochland and Powhaton Counties
1977-1980 also includes New Kent County

Seattle - Everett (includes King and Snohomish County)

Milwaukee (includes Milwaukee, Waukesha, Ozaukee and Washington Counties)